

ARCHÄOLOGISCHE BERICHTE
AUS DEM YEMEN

BAND X

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Rencontres Sabéennes 6

The Periodisation and Chronological Terminology of Ancient Yemen



DEUTSCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT ṢAN'Ā'

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INHALT

	Vorwort	IX
Ueli Brunner	The Geography and Economy of the Sabaeen Homeland	1
Serguei A. Frantsouzzoff	The Chronological Frame for the History of Raybūn (Inland Ḥaḍramawt): Linguistic and Palaeographic Criteria	9
Iwona Gajda	The Earliest Monotheistic South Arabian Inscription	21
Iris Gerlach	What is Sabaeen Art? Problems in Distinguishing Ancient South Arabian Art Using Saba and Qataban as Examples	31
Holger Hitgen	»The Age of The Fighting Kingdoms« in South Arabia (1. Century B.C.–3. Century A.D.). Aspects of the Material Culture in a Period of Change	45
Sarah Japp	Selected Pottery from the Cemetery of the Awām Temple in Marib – Observations on Chronology and Provenience	69
Edward J. Keall	Placing Al-Midamman in Time. The Work of the Canadian Archaeological Mission on the Tihāma Coast, from the Neolithic to the Bronze Age	87
Alessandro de Maigret	Some Reflections on the South Arabian Bayt	101
Norbert Nebes	Zur Chronologie der Inschriften aus dem Bar'an-Tempel	111
Jan Retsö	Arabs in Pre-Islamic South Arabia	127
Christian Julien Robin	Ḥimyar au IV ^e siècle de l'ère Chrétienne. Analyse des données chronologiques et essai de mise en ordre	133
Nicole Röring	The Façade of Monumental Tombs and Temples in Comparison ..	153
Alexander Sedov	Ḥaḍramawt Coinage: Its Sequence and Chronology	161
Alexander Sima	Juden und al-'Uzzā-Verehrer: Neue Lesung zweier altsüdarabischer Graffiti aus Saudi-Arabien	175
Peter Stein	Linguistic Contributions to Sabaeen Chronology	179
Paul Yule	Toward a Reconstruction of Ancient Ḥaḍramawt	191

VORWORT

Der vorliegende 10. Band der Reihe »Archäologische Berichte aus dem Yemen« beinhaltet die Veröffentlichung der Beiträge der 6. Rencontres Sabéennes, die vom 22.–25. Mai 2001 in Berlin von der Orient-Abteilung des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts ausgerichtet wurden. Die Rencontres Sabéennes sind in der Regel jährlich an wechselnden Veranstaltungsorten stattfindende internationale Fachtagungen zur Archäologie und Epigraphik Südarabiens. Den jeweiligen Veranstaltern ist es dabei freigestellt, für den Kongreß ein Hauptthema festzulegen, um bestimmte Aspekte der südarabischen Kulturgeschichte intensiv zu behandeln. Neben der Beschäftigung mit einer vorgegebenen Thematik bieten die Rencontres Sabéennes die Gelegenheit, neue Ergebnisse von Ausgrabungen oder epigraphischen Forschungen vorzustellen und mit anderen Fachkollegen zu diskutieren.

Aufgrund des gerade in den letzten Jahren rasch voranschreitenden Forschungsstandes in der südarabischen Altertumskunde erschien es an der Zeit, die Problematik der Festlegung einzelner Perioden und ihre Benennung auf internationaler Ebene zu thematisieren und hierbei Ergebnisse eigener Forschungen einzubringen. Gerade im Bereich der historischen Zeit, d. h. dem 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr. bis zum Beginn des Islam, gibt es vor allem in der Archäologie Südarabiens im Gegensatz zur Epigraphik immer noch unterschiedliche Terminologien für zeitgleiche Perioden oder Kulturen. Für die 6. Rencontres wurde daher der Titel »The Periodisation and Chronological Terminology of Ancient Yemen« gewählt. Gegenstand des Kongresses war nicht, eine rein theoretische Betrachtung der gängigen Bezeichnungen der südarabischer Kulturen und Zeitstufen, sondern die aus eigenen Forschungen resultierenden Erkenntnisse zu diesem Thema zusammenzutragen. Dabei galt es nicht, endgültige Lösungen und Antworten zu finden. Diskussionsgrundlage bildeten vor allem

die Chronologietabellen des Katalogs zur Jemenausstellung von Paris für die historischen Zeiten und des Wiener Katalogs für die prähistorischen Zeiten.

Die Resonanz auf die Ankündigung dieser Fachtagung war überraschend groß und bestätigte, daß die angesprochene Thematik zu den wichtigen und bisher nur wenig diskutierten Fragestellungen der Kulturgeschichte Südarabiens zählt. Insgesamt nahmen 33 Kolleginnen und Kollegen aus England, Frankreich, Italien, dem Jemen, Kanada, Rußland, Schweden, der Schweiz und Deutschland teil. Die Mehrzahl der Kongreßteilnehmer führt eigene Forschungsprojekte im Jemen durch und konnte so aktuelle Ergebnisse zum Thema vorstellen, von denen die meisten in diesem Band publiziert sind.

Dank gilt dem damaligen Präsidenten des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Herrn Prof. Dr. Helmut Kyrieleis, der das Zustandekommen der Veranstaltung durch eine großzügige Finanzierung ermöglichte. Für den reibungslosen Ablauf der Tagung sorgten dankenswerterweise verschiedene Mitarbeiter der Orient-Abteilung, insbesondere Frau Dr. Jutta Häser, sowie mehrere Studentinnen und Studenten der Vorderasiatischen Archäologie. Ihnen allen gebührt unser Dank für die gute Zusammenarbeit. Die Redaktion der Beiträge lag wieder in den Händen von Frau Stefanie Bahe, die die Manuskripte und Abbildungen für den Druck vorbereitete und auch das Layout erstellte. Ihr sei an dieser Stelle ein besonderer Dank ausgesprochen. Frau Anne Multhoff hat zusammen mit Herrn Prof. Dr. Norbert Nebes (beide Jena) dankenswerterweise die arabischen Transkriptionen in den einzelnen Beiträgen überprüft. Was die Umschrift arabischer Wörter, Begriffe, Ortsnamen etc. angeht, so wurde diese in der jeweils vom Autor verwandten Konvention beibehalten und innerhalb dieser lediglich Unstimmigkeiten vorsichtig bereinigt. Den Druck übernahm der Verlag Philipp von

Zabern. Großer Dank gilt nicht zuletzt den zahlreichen Autoren und Referenten, die aus den 6. Rencontres Sabéennes in Berlin eine lebendige Veranstaltung mit anregenden Beiträgen und Diskussionen gemacht haben. Der vorliegende Kongreßband mag dies dokumentieren.

Während der Drucklegung des Bandes verstarb am 3. September 2004 bei einem tragischen Autounfall in der jemenitischen Provinz al-Mahra

Alexander Sima im Alter von nur 34 Jahren. Die deutschsprachige Südarabienforschung verlor damit einen ihrer hervorragendsten Nachwuchsgelahrten, der sich durch seine umfassenden Fachkenntnisse, vielfältigen Interessen und auch durch den engen Bezug seiner epigraphischen Arbeiten zur Archäologie auszeichnete. Alexander Sima wird uns als liebenswerter Kollege und Freund in Erinnerung bleiben.

Berlin – Sanaa, im Oktober 2004
Iris Gerlach

THE GEOGRAPHY AND ECONOMY OF THE SABAEAN HOMELAND

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

In this article the homeland of the Sabaeans means the region in the eastern margin of the Yemeni mountains, comprising the oasis of Marib, the area of *Širwāḥ* and the lower course of Wadi Raghwān (Fig. 1). These three parts do not form a geographical unit at all. Each area is a world in itself. Marib is located at the border of the large Wadi Dhana, not even ten kilometers away from the Jibāl Balaq. To the northwest it is separated from the Wadi Raghwān by a barren volcanic area. The once fertile oasis of Wadi Raghwān widens about 30 km away from the mountains in the middle of the desert plain. The two wadis run parallel to each other and, being valleys, they both form landscapes dominated by linear structures. The area of *Širwāḥ* is totally different. It is separated from both oases by a mountain ridge. So well hidden from the Ramlat as-Sab'atayn it forms a basin with a diameter of about 10 km in the mountains. Thus it is a landscape with mostly circular structures.

The ancient capital Maryab lies at 15°26' north and 45°20' east. The low latitude of a mere 15° clearly indicates its position within the tropical zone. In Africa the Sabaean homeland would fit into the subsaharian semiarid belt of the Sahel. It takes exactly the same position in Southern Arabia. It is located at the southern border of the Arabian desert, thus profiting from the monsoonal rains in the Yemeni mountains in our summertime. Therefore the periodical water in the Wadi Dhana and Raghwān are the source of life in the oases of Marib and Raghwān. The area of *Širwāḥ* depends more on scarce local rainfall. The Sabaean homeland is richly structured. This is the result of a long and interesting geological history, which

makes it worthwhile to have a closer look at the geology.

GEOLOGY

The geology is closely related to plate tectonics in connection with the building of the Red Sea. In Mesozoic times Africa and Arabia still formed an entire continent, built up by the Precambrian basement and consisting mostly of gneiss, schist and granite. This continent was flooded by the sea and, due to varying depths of water, many different sediments accumulated such as limestone, sandstone, gypsum or salt. By the end of the Mesozoic Age the continent was rising above sealevel and at the place where later on the Red Sea would establish, it lifted up to a high plateau of three to four thousand metres. This uplifting was accompanied by faults, so Tertiary volcanism occurred, covering the sediments with immense layers of tuffs and basalts¹.

Marib lay at the edge of this rise. So only little Tertiary volcanism occurred around *Širwāḥ* and the raising of the basement was less, about 1500 m. Therefore the sediments built up the surface but they started to be eroded. Only in Quaternary times did strong basic volcanic activity occur, resulting in vast dark lava flows covering a large area between *Širwāḥ* and Marib. It changed the landscape of Marib significantly. One large lava stream is the reason for the strange S-shaped course of the Wadi Dhana when leaving the gorge of the Jibāl

Sources of illustrations: Fig. 1: MOMS 8-2-1984. – Fig. 2, 3: Author.

¹ U. Brunner, Jemen. Vom Weihrauch zum Erdöl (1999) 10.

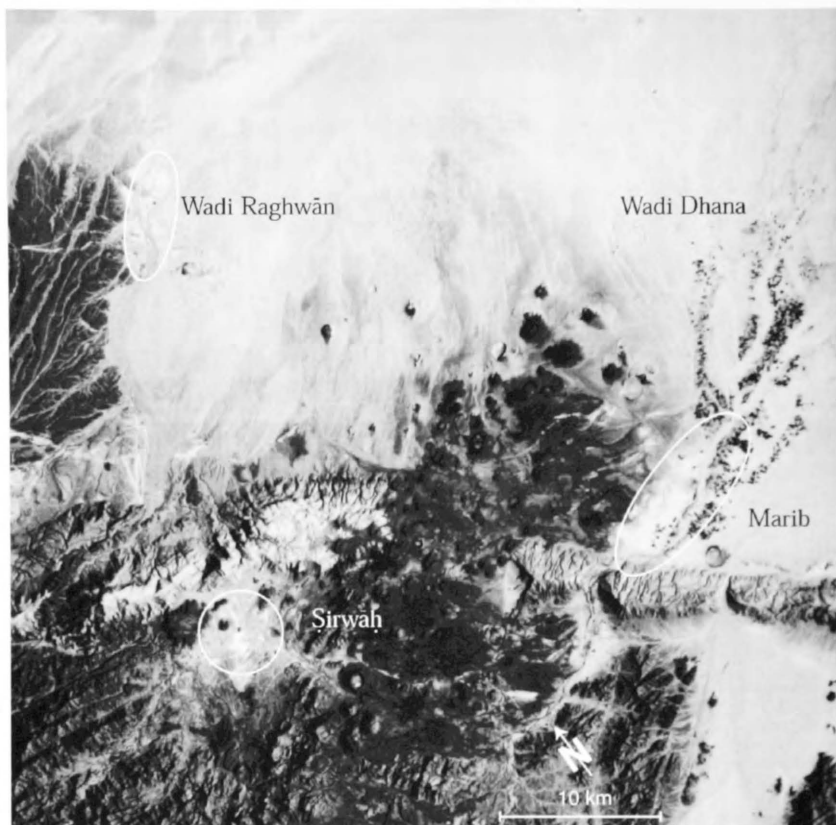


Fig. 1 Satellite image of the Sabaean homeland with the centres of settlement (MOMS 8-2-1984)

Balaq, and the city of Marib seems to be founded on a volcanic cone in the middle of the plain² although in a geologic profile of WRAY³ it doesn't show up. Water and wind added the youngest geologic elements to the landscape of three areas; sand dunes and fertile gravel fans (Fig. 2). To sum up it can be said that the homeland of the Sabaeans has a wide variety of different rocks.

The wide use of different stones for building purposes was the subject of a paper by the author⁴. As stated there, it is an accidental concurrence of the age of the stones and the age of their use. In early Sabaean times, mostly the Precambrian gneisses and schists of the basement were used. In classical times the Mesozoic limestone was the preferred material to build temples, palaces and irrigation structures, and oriental alabaster, a calcite

variety, was used for decorations and figures. In the late South Arabian period, Quaternary volcanic material was in use and finally in Islamic times silt served to erect houses and walls. Especially the limestone buildings and the decoration plates and figures of alabaster, often inscribed with dedications, have become a symbol for the excellent masonry of the Sabaeans. Limestone established itself as the only stone worth building temples of all

² W. Wagner, *Bodenkundliche Untersuchungen in der Oase Märib*, ABADY 6 (1993) 30.

³ Ministry of Oil and Mineral Resources & TNO, Institute of Applied Geoscience. Sana'a and Delft (ed.), *Water Resources Wadi Adhanah and Marib Area*. Report WRAY 15 (1990) 66.

⁴ U. Brunner, *Bausteine der Sabäer*, *Münchner Beiträge zur Völkerkunde* 2 (1989) 27–42.

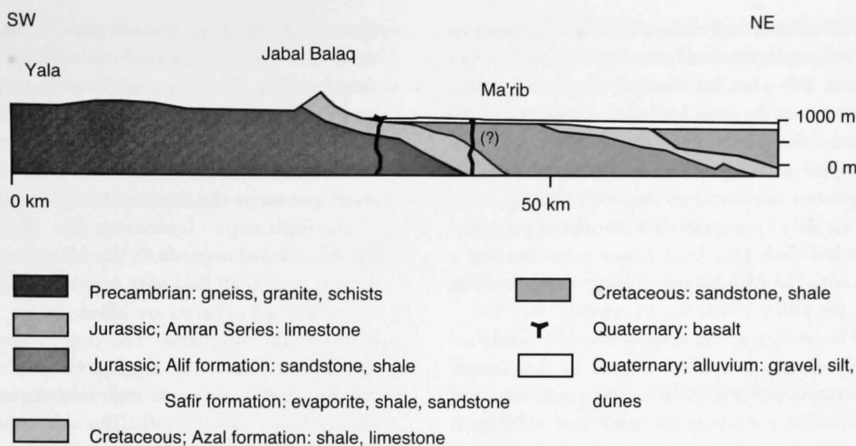


Fig. 2 Geologic profile through the Marib region

over Southern Arabia, even in regions like Wadi Markha where there are no Mesozoic sediments. There it had to be brought from far away.

The Sabaeans also profited from the salt domes in the east, where in Safira salt was already exploited in ancient times. But the active tectonic movements proved to be a danger too. At least in the Yemeni mountains volcanism occurred till historic times, as the example of al-Ḥuqqa shows⁵. The other unconformity may have been earthquakes, as they are quite common in connection with graben building. The peripheral location of the Marib region indicates that disastrous events will not have occurred often. Earthquakes caused damage to buildings but it is unlikely that they influenced the path of history as is proposed for the decline of the Qatabanian kingdom in neighbouring Wadi Bayḥān⁶.

CLIMATE

In order to understand the climate of the Marib region we have to know about the low latitude, the high elevation of 1200 m above sea level, and the mountain barrier against the Indian Ocean to the south and against the Red Sea to the west. The result of these factors is a permanently dry and strong continental climate with surprisingly high temperature changes within a year and also between day and night (Fig. 3). In November to January even surface frosts may occur. This is due to a very low air humidity during this season. In our sum-

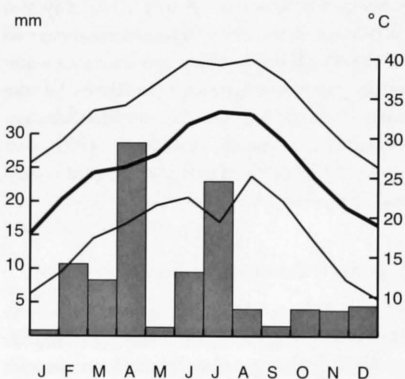


Fig. 3 Marib: Diagramm with precipitation and temperature (mean monthly, average maximum and average minimum) 1985–88

mer months the humidity soaks up to 70% which, together with 40°C during the day and still 25°C during the night makes the people feel uncomfortable⁷.

⁵ C. Rathjens – H. von Wissmann, *Vorislamische Altertümer*. Rathjens – v. Wissmannsche Südarabien-Reise II. Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde 38, Reihe B. Völkerkunde, Kulturgeschichte und Sprachen 19 (1932) 8.

⁶ B. Marcolongo – D. M. Bonacossi, *L'abandon du système d'irrigation qatabanite dans la vallée du wadi Bayhan (Yémen): Analyse géo-archéologique*. Sciences de la terre et des planètes (1997) 85.

⁷ WRAY 15 op cit. 35.

The main feature of the climate doesn't seem to have changed perceptibly since the South Arabian period. But what has changed significantly since irrigation on the oases has been permanent and the construction of the new dam in 1986, is the air humidity. A third of the water in the reservoir evaporates and therefore augments the vapour in the air. As a consequence the amount of precipitation has risen to a level where it has become a threat to the foundations of heavy structures like e.g. the pillars of the Bar'an temple.

The fertility of the oasis of Marib depends entirely on the two rainy seasons in the Yemeni mountains to the west. In normal years rain starts in April, June is mostly dry and in July and August most of the precipitation is measured. The runoff leads to flash floods in the wadi, called sayl (singular) or suyül (plural). These suyül do not only bring surface water to the region, they also recharge the rich aquifer in the Quaternary gravel fan of the Wadi Dhana. These two luxurious water resources were the strongest backbone of the Sabaeen economy but only because the Sabaeans developed an irrigated agriculture which was well adapted to these special hydrological conditions.

THE SABAEOAN FLOODWATER IRRIGATION

The Great Dam of Marib is the symbol of the almost perfect water use of the Sabaeans. But the Great Dam is also the most misleading structure concerning the irrigation technique. It may lead to the conclusion, that it served for the storage of water and therefore that the Sabaeans irrigated permanently. But this was not the case. In a time span of millenia the people in Southern Arabia developed a technique which is called »Yemeni floodwater irrigation«⁸ to handle the unpredictable suyül for irrigation purposes. The method can be characterized briefly in the following way: A part of the sayl is directed from the wadi by an earthen deflector dam into a large canal. The water is distributed to the fields immediately. These fields are large, about one hectare, and they are bordered with broad mud walls. The fields are flooded only once, but therefore with large quantities of water. Surplus water is given back to the wadi.

The Yemeni floodwater irrigation is a real sustainable system for the following reasons:

- No salting: The large amount of water leaches the salt of the previous vegetation period.
- Easy handling: The height of the deflector dam as well as the overflow in the field wall determine the water quantity.
- Permanent fertility: The immediate usage of the water guarantees the accumulation of fertile silt on the fields.
- No water based diseases: In the dry season the wadi as well as all fields dry out, so the agents of malaria and bilharzia are killed.
- Economically affordable: The construction of the deflector dam, the digging of the canals and the erection of the field walls is labour intensive but not a difficult task. The investment is returned by a high yield.
- Adaptable to social conditions: The system works well on a small scale in a tiny wadi with a small community but it is also suitable in a large wadi with a large centralized organisation.

This last point brings us back to the Sabaeen homeland. What was the speciality of the Sabaeen system? First of all it has to be stressed that it functioned basically in the same manner as every Yemeni floodwater irrigation. The speciality was the Great Dam which closed the entire Wadi Dhana. But it was by no means a storage dam, it was the result of missing space in the gorge of the Jibāl Balaq. It served to raise the water onto the level of the fields which accumulated by approximately 1 cm/year. Another difference was the large extension of the two oases. The North Oasis covered an area of 3750 ha, the South Oasis one of 5300 ha⁹ and also that the whole oasis relied on only one dam. Moreover like this the irrigation scheme corresponded very well to the political organisation of the Sabaeans.

The main food crop planted in the oasis were the cereals wheat, barley and sorghum, and vegetables. The main cash crop was the date palm. This plantation needed surplus water from wells¹⁰. Fields and water rights could be in private hands but the

⁸ U. Brunner, The Sustainability of the Ancient Great Dam of Ma'rib in Yemen. ICID Journal 49 no. 4, 2000, 53.

⁹ Idem, Die Erforschung der antiken Oase von Märib mit Hilfe geomorphologischer Untersuchungsmethoden, ABADY 2 (1983) 90.

¹⁰ I. Hehmeyer, Der Bewässerungslandbau auf der antiken Oase von Marib, ABADY 5 (1991) 60.

majority of the yield was turned over into the possession of the state. In this way the Sabaeans had a productive agriculture and in store rooms a reserve which served in times of droughts and for non-agrarian people. Like this a highly differentiated society developed with remarkable parts of it working in the second and tertiary sector. Furthermore the rich agricultural output allowed a high population density. Both together led to the establishment of larger cities.

POPULATION

The most cited fact of my scientific work is the number of inhabitants in Marib in Sabaean times, which I said to be between 30 000 and 50 000¹¹. This figure was calculated by taking the number of inhabitants in 1973 and the extension of sayl-irrigated fields in the same year. In this way I obtained an idea of the field size a person needs, to make a living. So:

1973 3 900 ha: 13 000 pers. = 0.3 ha/pers.
Sabaean time 9 600 ha: 0.3 ha/pers. = 32 000 pers.

The basic idea behind this calculation was the experience that the irrigation technique as well as the food crops were still more or less the same. It was a very rough method to give an order of magnitude rather than an exact figure.

There are several hints that this figure of around 30 000 persons is rather too small than too big. The 1973 figure of the extension of sayl-irrigated fields is assembled of 2 000 ha with at least one yield per year and 1 900 ha which were thought to be irrigated every now and then. But an estimated 1 000 ha of the sayl-irrigated area showed a supplement well-irrigation¹². A fundamental difference between the modern and the ancient situation is the missing palm-plantations in modern times. Dates are highly nutritive food, which has to be taken in account when regarding the alimentation.

There is another way to calculate the potential of the Marib oasis by taking the basic water needs of a person per year. W. J. Cosgrove and F. R. Rijsberman¹³ cite an internationally accepted figure of 500 m³ of water per person and year. This figure is based on the fact, that the production of one kilogram of bread needs – independent from the climate – one cubic metre of water. In order to reach a reliable result for the Marib region it has to be

stated that flood irrigation loses about 60–70% of the water to the aquifer or by evaporation or return flows to the wadi. Some of it was used to irrigate date palms from wells.

To summarize we get the following facts:

Minimum amount of water per person and year	500 m ³
Average water in Wadi Dhana per year	100 mio m ³
Water loss by flood irrigation per year (65%)	65 mio m ³
Possible water consumption per year	35 mio m ³

Now we may calculate the number of persons who could have lived from this water potential:

35 mio m³: 500 m³/pers. = 70 000 persons

The result clearly shows that the figure based on the comparison of traditional and ancient harvesting with 32 000 persons is on the safe side and by no means exaggerated. As we see the water potential in Marib was even of such a quantity as to nourish 70 000 persons on the basis of sayl-irrigation. After all, the figure of 30 000–50 000 inhabitants in Marib given in 1983 may be taken as quite correct whereas 50 000 may be closer to reality. At least a society of this number could have been economically self-sufficient.

TRADE

Irrigated agriculture was the backbone of the Sabaean economy. Another, although less important pillar was the international trade, which is closely connected to the term »incense trail«¹⁴. The most important goods were frankincense and myrrh originating mostly from South Arabia itself, and precious stones and spices from India. These goods were transported by camel caravans overland to the Mediterranean borderlands as well as to Mesopotamia. To give an idea of the volume of the frankincense trade, some figures may be helpful.

¹¹ Brunner, ABADY 2 op. cit. 106.

¹² R. Schoch, Die antike Kulturlandschaft des Stadtbezirkes Saba' und die heutige Oase von Ma'rib in der Arabischen Republik Jemen, in: Geographica Helvetica 33 no. 3, 1978, 126.

¹³ W. J. Cosgrove – F. R. Rijsberman, World Water Vision. Making Water Everybody's Business (2000) 32.

¹⁴ N. Groom, Frankincense and Myrrh. A Study of the Arabian Incense Trade (1981) 10.

The yearly production for export is estimated to be in the order of 2 500–3 000 t. It is estimated that about half of it was produced for the Roman Empire. The transport needed about 7 000–10 000 camels¹⁵. One incense tree produces between 3 kg and 10 kg each year if it is milked. But after some years it needs time to recover. This means that about half a million incense trees were growing in Southern Arabia. During the first millenium B.C. the South Arabian kingdoms, among them the Sabaeen one, was for a long period the leading one, possessing almost the monopoly.

The Sabaeans offered many products but they didn't need any because of their productive self-sufficient agriculture. So trade consisted in an ex-

change of goods for cash, which was mostly gold, silver or coins. Therefore the balance of trade was extremely positive, which led to an accumulation of wealth in Southern Arabia¹⁶. Due to its remote location this wealth was not endangered. The Sabaeen Kingdom was well hidden and protected by the distance and by the gusty desert from the political lust of their trade partners to penetrate, conquer and thus profit from, the luxurious natural and cultural equipment of Arabia Felix.

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¹⁵ B. Vogt, Im Reich der Düfte: Weihrauch und Weihrauchhandel in und um das Glückliche Arabien herum, in: W. Raunig (ed.): Im Land der Königin von Saba, Exhibition cat. Monaco (1999) 215.

¹⁶ Ibidem 214.

جغرافية دولة سبا واقتصادها

أ. برونر

(U. Brunner)

ملخص:

كان موطن السبئيين يقع على حدود الصحراء العربية ؛ ومن ثم فقد كانوا يستفيدون من الأمطار الموسمية في جبال اليمن في أوقات الربيع والصيف. وهكذا كانت المياه الجارية متوفرة مرتين في العام. أما مياه الصرف النقية كمصدر مائي ثان فقد كانت وفيرة. وكانت المصادر الطبيعية الغنية تتمثل أيضا في التنوع الكبير للأحجار التي أمكن أن تستخدم في بناء المعابد والمنازل والأبنية ذات العلاقة بالماء.

إن سد مارب القديم هو رمز لاستغلال السبئيين الأمثل للمياه. وهو يدخل ضمن تقاليد نظام الري في اليمن عن طريق مياه السيل - وهو تقنية داعمة للتعامل مع مياه السيل المفاجئ من أجل أغراض الري. وطريقة الري للزراعي هذه تحتاج إلى 500 متر مكعب من الماء على الأقل لكل شخص سنويا. فكمية المياه المتوفرة في وادي ذنة كانت تبلغ حوالي 35 مليون متر مكعب سنويا.

وإن عملية حسابية بسيطة تخلص بنا إلى مجموعة من السكان يبلغ عددها 70000 نسمة أمكن إمدادهم بالمياه في منطقة مارب.

كان الري هو العمود الفقري للاقتصاد عند السبئيين ، لكن التجارة هي التي جلبت لهم الثروات. ولقد أدى تصدير البخور والمر المحليين ، وكذلك للتوابل الهندية والأحجار الكريمة إلى توازن تجاري غاية في الإيجابية. ولقد كانت مملكة سبا خافية على الأبصار ومحمية - بسبب بعدها وبسبب صحرائها العاصفة - ضد الأهداف السياسية لشركائها التجاريين ؛ فلم يمكنهم اكتشافها وغزوها وبالتالي استغلال الثروات الطبيعية والحضارية الغزيرة لبلاد العرب السعيدة.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL FRAME FOR THE HISTORY OF RAYBŪN (INLAND ḤADRAMAWT): LINGUISTIC AND PALAEOGRAPHIC CRITERIA

The problem of chronology remains the most serious obstacle that every specialist in South Arabian Studies inevitably encounter. Before the conversion of the Ḥimyarite kingdom to monotheism in the late 4th century A.D. the southwestern corner of the Arabian peninsula was in a relative isolation and the synchronisms between the events, which took place in it, and the history of other ancient civilizations are extremely rare. However, the general chronological scheme of South Arabian political evolution in the 1st to mid-6th centuries A.D. has been successfully elaborated on the basis of a limited number of large historical texts, especially al-Mi'sāl inscriptions, dated by local eras which are more or less precisely correlated with the Christian one¹. As to Yemenite chronology during the 1st millennium B.C., the thorough palaeographic analysis of epigraphic materials has been considered till recently to be the only reliable foundation for its reconstruction.

Forty five years ago J. Pirenne published the first (and, as it turned out, the last) volume of her fundamental work on the palaeography of ancient Yemenite inscriptions which became a turning-point in the development of Sabaeen Studies. She created an integral palaeographic system, in which South Arabian texts of the 1st millenium B.C. had been arranged by periods marked with capital Latin letters (A, B, etc.) and divided each into three or four styles (e.g. A1–A4 or D1–D3), and elaborated on this basis a new relative chronology of the ancient civilization of Yemen². Almost all the specialists closely connected with this field of Oriental Studies accepted her system, even those among them who, like A. G. Lundin, rejected her specula-

tions upon the so-called shorter chronology³. At first sight such quasi-unanimity seems to have been

Sources of illustrations: All Photos: Archiv of the Soviet-Yemenite Complex Expedition 1984–91, Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, S' Petersburg. – Diagrams and design: Author, assisted by I. Tikhonova.

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¹ See e.g. M. A. Bāfaqih, *L'unification du Yémen antique. La lutte entre Saba', Ḥimyar et le Ḥadramawt du I^{er} au III^{ème} siècle de l'ère chrétienne*. Bibliothèque de Raydān I (1990) 117–135. 136 tab. 2; Ch. J. Robin, *Sheba (dans les inscriptions d'Arabie du Sud)*, in: *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* (1996) 1135 f. (tabl.). 1137–1140. – The long discussion about the exact beginning of the so-called Ḥimyarite era (or the era of Maḥḥad son of Abḥad) came to an end in 1996, when a group of French scholars adduced conclusive proofs in favour of its dating from 110 B.C.: Ch. J. Robin – J. Beaucamp – F. Briquel-Chatonnet, *La persécution des chrétiens de Najrān et la chronologie ḥimyarite*, *Aram Periodical* 1/12, 1999/2000, 15–83.

² J. Pirenne, *Paléographie des inscriptions sud-arabes. Contribution à la chronologie et à l'histoire de l'Arabie du Sud antique I. Des origines jusqu' à l'époque ḥimyarite*. *Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schone kunsten van België. Klasse der letteren. Verhandeling N° 26* (1956). – Later on the basis of Ḥadramitic epigraphic materials mostly originated in Shabwa she extended her scheme up to the end of South Arabian civilization, but didn't describe it in detail: eadem, *Les témoins écrits de la région de Shabwa et l'histoire, Fouilles de Shabwa I* (1990) tab. 1.

³ A. G. Lundin, *Gosudarstvo mukarribov Saba', sabejskij eponimat* (1971, with a large summary in French: 280–301) passim. According to her chronological (and palaeographic) scheme Pirenne traced the beginning of South Arabian civi-

unexpected, since some imperfections and even serious defects of Pirenne's palaeography were quite clear. But the task she audaciously completed was (and still remains) so difficult and so urgent for the progress in South Arabian Studies that the overwhelming majority of scholars preferred to enjoy the advantages of her method and system and to ignore their obvious demerits.

There is no rule without exception, however. In his detailed review of this work A. Jamme revealed principal mistakes and shortcomings typical for Pirenne⁴. In spite of a sharp and sometimes rude tone of his polemics the critical remarks made by this scholar are for the most part well-founded and should be taken into consideration. It is not surprising at all that in 1991 A. Lemaire repeated two main objections raised by Jamme against Pirenne's palaeography. He emphasized once more that various palaeographic styles, which Pirenne had arranged in a strong chronological succession, could be simultaneous⁵ and expressed his disagreement with her 'Helleno-centric' approach and groundless parallels she drew between ancient South Arabian and Greek palaeography⁶.

In certain cases the rigorous application of Pirenne's scheme led to curious results. For instance, the editors of a new corpus of Ethiopian inscriptions attributed the beginning of a dedication extant in two copies (RIE 23 and 24) to the style A 4' and hesitated in dating the main part of the same text (RIE 26 and 27) from A 4' or B 1⁷.

It would be strange to persist in the maintenance of the palaeographic system whose foundations, especially the 'shorter' chronology, proved to be unreliable. The immediate task which must be put now before all the specialists in Sabaeen Studies consists in the elaboration of a new palaeography based on correct premises and on treatment of voluminous epigraphic documentation. The discovery of more than 2 700 inscriptions at Raybūn and some adjacent sites in the western part of Inland Ḥaḍramawt by the Soviet-Yemenite Complex (i.e. multidisciplinary) Expedition (SOYCE) during nine campaigns of excavations in 1983–91 affords an excellent opportunity for such a project. From the very beginning of the SOYCE works G. M. Bauer, who was responsible for the study of epigraphic materials until his death in 1989, encountered the problem of their arrangement in chronological order. The stratigraphy was not of

great value for him, since the ancient settlement of Raybūn perished in fire and therefore the overwhelming majority of its inscriptions were found in the 'level of destruction' in which tiny fragments of them were shuffled without distinction of their original locations and the periods they went back to. Certainly there are some texts discovered in situ

lization back to the 5th century B.C. (Pirenne, *Paléographie* op. cit. passim). However, this conception was recently reconsidered and proved to be incorrect. Exhaustive arguments in favour of the so-called longer chronology have been presented by a number of leading epigraphists and archaeologists who specialize in ancient Yemen: see e.g. A. de Maigret – Ch. J. Robin, *Les fouilles italiennes de Yalā (Yémen du nord): nouvelles données sur la chronologie de l'Arabie du sud préislamique*, *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1989) 255–291; A. Avanzini, *La chronologie longue et le début de l'histoire sudarabique*, *Quaderni di studi arabi* 11, 1993, 7–18; eadem, *La chronologie «courte»: un réexamen*, in: Ch. J. Robin (ed.), *Arabia antiqua. Early origins of South Arabian States*, Conference Rome 1991 (1996) 7–13; J.-F. Breton, *Quelques dates pour l'archéologie sudarabique*, *ibidem* 87–110; Robin, *Sheba* op. cit. 1111–1117.

⁴ A. Jamme, *La paléographie sud-arabe de J. Pirenne* (1957).

⁵ «A toutes les époques, plusieurs styles de graphie monumentale ou cursive (archaïsante, classique, vulgaire, négligée...) peuvent être contemporains»: A. Lemaire, *Histoire du Proche-Orient et chronologie sudarabique avant Alexandre*, in: Robin, *Arabia antiqua* op. cit. 35. He cited on that occasion a very important statement of S. A. Kaufman: «Typology, of course, does not prove chronology» (*ibidem* 35 n. 4). At this point his criticism coincided with that of Jamme who wrote: «La valeur accordée par J. Pirenne à la succession des types graphiques est nettement exagérée et surfaite [...] Nous ne parvenons pas à croire à un système qui, pratiquement, n'accepte même pas la possibilité de la contemporanéité de plusieurs types différents et considère que la similitude de deux graphies est la preuve certaine de la contemporanéité des personnes mentionnées dans ces textes» (Jamme op. cit. 35).

⁶ Lemaire op. cit. 36. – Those ideas about the influence exerted by the Greek monumental script of the 5th century B.C. on the early South Arabian one were expounded in Pirenne's essay «La Grèce et Saba»: J. Pirenne, *La Grèce et Saba. Une nouvelle base pour la chronologie sud-arabe*, in: *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres* XIV (1935) 88–192 pl. 1–11. – The distinctly negative position of Jamme towards them is well-known: see e.g. Jamme op. cit. 15–19. 27f.

⁷ E. Bernard – A. J. Drewes – R. Schneider, *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite I. II* (1991) 97 f. 100 f. The reconstruction, palaeographic and semantic analysis of this dedication is given in: S. A. Frantsouzoff, *Le «tailleur de pierre» (gby-n/-hm) dans les inscriptions sudarabiques*, *Raydān* 7 (2001) 126. 136 n. 6.

PERIODS AND STAGES	An. 1	An. 2	An. 3	R.
LINGUISTIC PECULIARITIES				
Sabaic verb <i>hqny</i> /-t, -w/	+	+	-	-
Ḥaḍramitic form of this verb (<i>s'qny</i> /-t, -w/)	-	-	+	+
Sabaic attached pronouns in <i>h</i> (- <i>hw</i> , - <i>h</i> , etc.)	+	-	-	-
Ḥaḍramitic attached pronouns in <i>s'</i> (m. sing. - <i>s'</i> , - <i>s'ww</i> ; d. - <i>s'my</i> ; pl. - <i>s'm</i>)	-	+	+	+
Ḥaḍramitic attached pronouns in <i>t</i> (f. sing. - <i>t</i> , - <i>tyw</i>)	-	+	+	-
Ḥaḍramitic attached pronouns in <i>s'</i> (f. sing. - <i>s'</i> , - <i>s'yw</i>)	-	-	-	+
ORTHOGRAPHIC PECULIARITIES				
Indifferent use of the signs ʔ and ʕ to render the same phoneme (except some morphemes and proper nouns)	+	+	+	-
Total replacement of ʔ by ʕ	-	-	-	+

Table 1 The linguistic and orthographic criteria for the chronological arrangement of Raybūn inscriptions

and inscribed slabs reused as paving-stones after repairs or rebuildings of temples, but only a small part of such written sources can be dated exclusively on the grounds of archaeological data⁸.

In that situation Bauer made use of another objective criterion for the reconstruction of relative chronology connected with linguistic peculiarities of Raybūn inscriptions. In them the Sabaic forms, like the verb *hqny* 'to dedicate' and the attached pronouns in *h*, alternate with the *s'*-form of the same verb (*s'qny*) and the pronominal suffixes in *s'* and *t/s'* typical for Ḥaḍramitic. Besides that in orthography the abrupt disappearance of the sign ʔ and its replacement by ʕ are also attested. In consideration of general tendencies of the palaeographic development of South Arabian script and of the political history of ancient Yemen which begins with the epoch of Sabaeen hegemony Bauer divided all the inscriptions found by the SOYCE among four successive periods. The weakest point of this scheme consisted in his attempt to correlate them with Pirenne's styles⁹.

In the course of the preparation for publication of 458 inscriptions originated in the temple Ḥaḍrān of Raybūn (site Rb I, building 1) Bauer's classification was slightly changed. With due regard to obvious distinctions in palaeography and spelling between the first three periods and the 4th one we decided to distinguish only two periods, ancient (période ancienne – An.) and late (période récente –

R.), but the first of them was divided into three stages (An. 1 – An. 3). The linguistic and orthographic features peculiar to each stage or period are demonstrated below (see Table 1)¹⁰.

On the basis of these criteria the exhaustive palaeographic analysis of the inscriptions originated in Ḥaḍrān was undertaken. It is obvious that the only way to avoid any subjective approach in this field of research consists in establishing a number of strict characteristics which don't depend on personal estimations and biases towards some conceptions. Hence the measurement of dimensions and proportions of signs take on special significance. Unfortunately many texts are known only by photographs and the determination of their measures is

⁸ For the previous «Rencontres sabéennes» held in Moscow in May 1999 A. V. Sedov prepared a concise survey of those texts which don't exceed in number a dozen of items, but unfortunately it still remains unpublished.

⁹ G. M. Bauer, *Epigrafika Rejbuna (sezony 1983–1984 gg., obščij obzor)*, Trudy Sovetsko-jemenskoj kompleksnoj ekspeditsii I. Khadramaut. Arkheologičeskie, etnografičeskie i istoriko-kul'turnye issledovanija (1995) 125 tab. 1; 126 tab. 2; 144 tab. 3.

¹⁰ These grammatical phenomena have been examined in detail in: S. A. Frantsouzoff, *Raybūn. Ḥaḍrān, temple de la déesse 'Aḥtar^u/'Aḡtar^u*, Fasc. A. B, Inventaires des inscriptions sudarabiques 5 (2001) 35, 50 f.; idem, *Le ḥaḍramoutique épigraphique et sa place dans le groupe des langues sémitiques*, in: Russian Orientalists to the 36th ICANAS, (2000) 68 f.

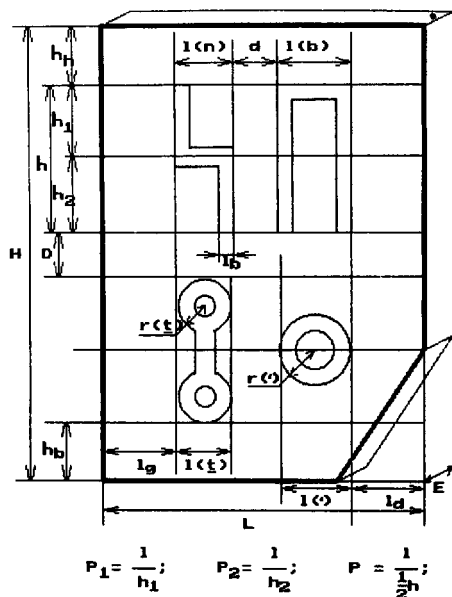


Fig. 1 Conventional signs used for the designation of dimensions

a matter of considerable difficulties. As Jamme has clearly demonstrated, one of serious faults inherent in Pirenne's method was connected with her negligence in the evaluation of characters' dimensions¹¹. Thanks to Bauer a lot of epigraphic materials found by the SOYCE (but unfortunately not all of them) were thoroughly measured on the spot. The formalization of these data proved to be quite easy (see Fig. 1). For the calculation of characters' proportions the introduction of special coefficients was recognized as reasonable:

P_1 – coefficient of proportion for the upper half of a character;

P_2 – coefficient of proportion for the lower half of a character;

P – the mean of coefficients of proportion.

Their values can be found out according to the formulae represented on Fig. 1. The use of a half of characters' height in these formulae and not of their whole height is accounted for the fact that every character is divided into two halves, sometimes slightly unequal, with a special horizontal line which was drawn by engravers, when they marked out inscriptions. Besides that, the inscriptions are frequently damaged so that only one half

of a character or of a line is extant and can be measured.

Owing to the palaeographic research of Ḥaḍrān inscriptions carried out in accordance with this method it was ascertained that during the so-called ancient period (An.) the coefficient of proportion had a strong tendency towards decrease from one stage to another – from P (An. 1) = 0,82 through P (An. 2) = 0,64 to P (An. 3) = 0,48 – and thus on the interval between the 7th and 3rd centuries B.C. the signs became much narrower¹². As to the late period (R.), the texts are attributed to it according to

¹¹ He has revealed a lot of divergences between the data cited by Pirenne according to her analysis of photographs and the real dimensions of original epigraphic monuments and their signs: Jamme op. cit. 39–48. 51–57. 61 f. 68–71. 74–103. 110.

¹² Frantsouzoff, Raybūn. Ḥaḍrān op. cit. 31–46 fig. 2. According to some unpublished results of radiocarbon dating, which Sedov kindly let me know, the transition from the ancient period to the late one took place at Raybūn and probably in Inland Ḥaḍramawt as a whole in the 3rd century B.C. and not in the early 2nd century B.C., as G. M. Bauer suggested at first (ibidem 37 f. n. 9).

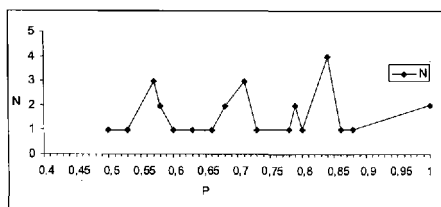


Diagram 1 The distribution of the standard inscriptions dated from the 1st stage of the Ancient Period (An. 1) according to the proportions of their signs

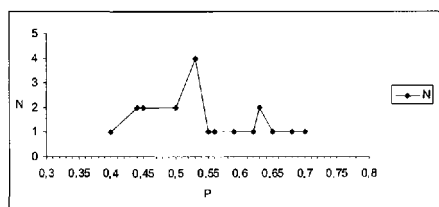


Diagram 2 The distribution of the standard inscriptions dated from the 3rd stage of the Ancient Period (An. 3) according to the proportions of their signs

their orthography and their script which is distinguished by peculiar bulges at the ends of the signs' strokes. At the same time the proportions of these signs vary on a wide range of values (from $P=0,46$ to $P=0,91$) and cannot be used to any degree for the dating of inscriptions¹³.

However, the epigraphic documentation from the temple Ḥadrān for the most part consists of small fragments which often bear one symbol or even its detail and hence their dating from a certain stage or period is sometimes vague, especially within the limits of the ancient period. Thus only in two cases the attribution of inscriptions to its stages was made exclusively in accordance with their grammatical peculiarities: Raybūn-Ḥadrān 1 from An. 1 (because of the use of *-bw*) and Raybūn-Ḥadrān 202 from An. 3 (thanks to the occurrence of *s'qny* and of two signs δ). It seems necessary to check the above-mentioned results on wider material.

For this purpose all the inscriptions of the ancient period which can be dated solely on the basis of the linguistic and orthographic criteria cited in Table 1 were selected from Raybūn epigraphy. The exception was made for some texts of An. 3 in which the use of the form *s'qny* coincides with the lack of palaeographic features typical for R. The indispensable condition for the insertion of an inscription in this category consisted in the presence of precise measurements of its signs' dimensions in the SOYCE archives¹⁴, since the calculation of the coefficient of proportion (P) was envisaged by the plan of research¹⁵. The results achieved during the treatment of these standard inscriptions are represented below.

As it follows from this table there are only five inscriptions dated from An. 2 by this method which are not representative at all for their small number.

Therefore the mean of their coefficients of proportion – P (An. 2) = 0,51 – should not be taken into account. Besides that, three of them (Rb I/84 bld. 3, lev. 1 no. 253 a–c = SOYCE 633; Rb XIV/89 no. 21 a–d = SOYCE 1937; Rb XIV/89 no. 221 = SOYCE 2075) were composed by the same author, Thamakhumaw son of Nadab^{um} (*T'mkhw/bn/Ndb^{um}*). It seems that the fragmentary nature of the majority of Raybūn inscriptions reduces a probability of the occurrence of the verb *hqny* and the attached pronouns in *s'* or *z* in the same text. As a result the selection of standard inscriptions attributed to An. 2 cannot be based solely on linguistic criteria, the application of palaeographic characteristics is inevitable.

The distribution of the values of P attested in the standard inscriptions dated from An. 1 and An. 3 is represented on the following diagrams.

Though the range of P -values for An. 1 is rather wide ($0,5 \leq P \leq 1,0$), the majority of texts included in Table 2 and attributed to it can be divided into two main types: >narrow< ($0,5 \leq P \leq 0,58$) and >large< ($0,67 \leq P \leq 1,0$). The first of them was not attested in Ḥadrān epigraphy. However, the mean of P for standard inscriptions of An. 1 is equal to 0,72 and does not differ much from this parameter ascertained for Ḥadrān texts (0,82). It should be noted that this regularity is statistical and certain deviations from it are possible. In some cases the propor-

¹³ Ibidem 46–48 fig. 3.

¹⁴ Thus Raybūn-Ḥadrān 202 mentioned above is rejected, because its P was evaluated by photograph.

¹⁵ The texts attributed to R. were excluded from this analysis, since their proportions have no distinctive function for their dating. It is worthy of note that the range of the values of P for this period should be considerably extended: see some inscriptions from Mayfa'ān with very narrow characters, e.g. Rb XIV/90 no. 60 = SOYCE 2377 / $P=0,23/$ or Rb XIV/89 no. 37 = SOYCE 1952 / $P=0,31/$.

Period	Temple	Archaeological Siglum	Epigraphic Siglum	P	Additional Remarks
An. 1	Ḥaḍrān		Raybūn-Ḥaḍrān 1	0,8	
		Rb I/84 passage, lev. 1 no. 248 a-c	SOYCE 770	0,6	Fig. 2
	Raḥbān	Rb I/88 no. 70	SOYCE 1678	0,79	
		Rb I/89 bld. 4, lev. 1 no. 296 a. b	SOYCE 1865	0,66	
	Kafas/Na'mān	Rb V/84 no. 8 a. b	SOYCE 801	0,84	Fig. 3
		Rb V/91 no. 74	-	0,84	
	Mayfa'ān	Rb XIV/88 no. 1 a-c	SOYCE 1469	0,58	
		Rb XIV/88 no. 2. 3	-	0,58	l. 3: P=0,72; Fig. 4
		Rb XIV/88 no. 77 a-c	SOYCE 1541	0,57	
		Rb XIV/88 no. 84 a. b-90	SOYCE 1548-1554	0,53	
		Rb XIV/89 no. 5	SOYCE 1920	0,73	
		Rb XIV/89 no. 18	SOYCE 1933	0,67	
		Rb XIV/89 no. 69	SOYCE 1984	0,5	
		Rb XIV/89 no. 75	SOYCE 1990	0,78	
		Rb XIV/89 no. 76	SOYCE 1991	0,67	
		Rb XIV/89 no. 81	SOYCE 1996	1,0	
		Rb XIV/89 no. 137	SOYCE 2052	0,71	
		Rb XIV/89 no. 159	SOYCE 2074	0,57	l. 3: P=0,8
		Rb XIV/89 no. 199	SOYCE 2115	1,0	
		Rb XIV/89 no. 246 a-d	SOYCE 2161	0,88	Fig. 5
		Rb XIV/90 no. 47	SOYCE 2364	0,57	Fig. 6
		Rb XIV/90 no. 170	SOYCE 2485	0,71	
		Rb XIV/91 no. 17	-	0,63	
		Rb XIV/91 no. 21	-	0,79	
		Rb XIV/91 no. 25	-	0,71	
		Rb XIV/91 no. 28 a. b	-	0,84	
		Rb XIV/91 no. 29	-	0,84	
		Rb XIV/91 no. 33	-	0,86	
An. 2	Raḥbān	Rb I/84 bld. 3, lev. 1 no. 210 a. b	SOYCE 647	0,59	
		Rb I/84 bld. 3, lev. 1 no. 253 a-e	SOYCE 633	0,45	Bauer op. cit. (note 9) fig. 3; S. A. Frant- souzoff, PSAS 25, 1995, pl. 1
		Rb I/88 no. 99	SOYCE 1705	0,49	Fig. 7
	Mayfa'ān	Rb XIV/89 no. 21 a-d	SOYCE 1937	0,46	
		Rb XIV/89 no. 221	SOYCE 2075	0,57	Fig. 8; S. A. Frantsouzoff, Epigrafika Vostoka 25, 1998, 132-143 fig. 8

Period	Temple	Archaeological Siglum	Epigraphic Siglum	P	Additional Remarks
An. 3	Ḥaḍrān		Raybūn-Ḥaḍrān 188	0,45	
	Raḥbān	Rb I/84 bld. 3, room A, lev. 1 no. 117 a. b	SOYCE 582 a	0,65	Fig. 9
	Kafas/Na'mān	Rb V/88 no. 11	SOYCE 1571	0,5	
		Rb V/88 no. 12	SOYCE 1572	0,56	
		Rb V/88 no. 38 a. b	SOYCE 1574	0,7	
		Rb V/88 no. 47. 48	SOYCE 1584+1585	0,62	Fig. 10; the use of <i>s'qny</i> and of <i>ḡ</i>
		Rb V/88 no. 60	SOYCE 1587	0,53	Fig. 11; the use of <i>s'qny</i> and of <i>ḡ</i>
		Rb V/88 no. 63	SOYCE 1589	0,53	
		Rb V/88 no. 65	SOYCE 1591	0,68	
		Rb V/88 no. 67	SOYCE 1593	0,55	
		Rb V/88 no. 82 bis	SOYCE 1599	0,53	the use of <i>s'qny</i> and of <i>ḡ</i>
		Rb V/91 no. 67/40	—	0,53	
	Mayfa'an	Rb XIV/88 no. 5	SOYCE 1471	0,45	
		Rb XIV/89 no. 11 a–d	SOYCE 1926	0,63	
		Rb XIV/90 no. 50	SOYCE 2367	0,4	Fig. 12
		Rb XIV/90 no. 52	SOYCE 2369	0,44	
		Rb XIV/90 no. 120	SOYCE 2435	0,63	
		Rb XIV/90 no. 171	SOYCE 2486	0,44	
		Rb XIV/90 no. 175	SOYCE 2490	0,59	Fig. 13
		Rb XIV/90 no. 185	SOYCE 2500	0,5	

Table 2 Standard Ḥaḍramitic inscriptions from Raybūn dated exclusively according to their linguistic peculiarities

tions of signs depends on a disposition of lines on slab. For instance, in Rb XIV/88 no. 2. 3 (see Fig. 4) and Rb XIV/89 no. 159 = SOYCE 2074 the space left by engravers for l. 3 was not enough to make the height of its signs equal to that in ll. 1–2 and their proportions were distorted.

The values of P calculated for An. 3 cover another interval ($0,4 \leq P \leq 0,7$). The inscriptions dated from it are also separated in two main types. The »narrow« one ($0,4 \leq P \leq 0,53$) has already been at-

tested in Ḥaḍrān, but the »large« type ($0,62 \leq P \leq 0,7$) occurs here for the first time and seems more typical for the temple Kafas/Na'mān. Therefore the mean of P (0,55) evaluated for all the texts of An. 3 included in Table 2 is bigger than in Ḥaḍrān (0,48). According to their palaeography some standard texts of An. 3 probably represent a special type transitory to R., since the ends of several signs in them are decorated with small bulges (see Fig. 9. 13). It is very strange that the same bulges are

found in the unique inscription Rb XIV/90 no. 47 = SOYCE 2364 which is dated from An. 1! How is it possible to explain this phenomenon? It can be assumed that the diversity of palaeographic styles within the same stage was greater than we suggest now. From the other side, this text probably composed during An. 3 could be intentionally archaized by the use of the Sabaic attached pronoun *-hw*. Strictly speaking, the very strong inclination of a horizontal stroke in ʔ (see e.g. Rb XIV/88 no. 2. 3 Fig. 4) is not typical for An. 1 too. In

any case thorough palaeographic studies of the standard inscriptions attributed to An. 1 and An. 3 in accordance with their linguistic features promise many interesting discoveries which should be of considerable importance for the reconstruction of South Arabian chronology.

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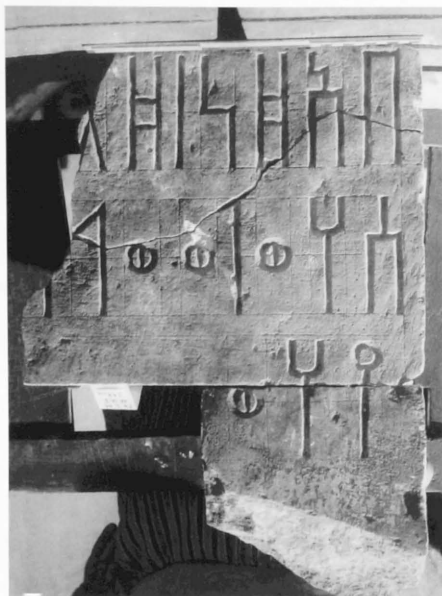


Fig. 2 Inscription from the temple Raḥbān, Rb I/84 passage, lev. I no. 248 a–c



Fig. 3 Inscription from the temple Kafas/Na'mān, Rb V/91 no. 74



Fig. 4a und b Inscription from the temple Mayfa'ān, Rb XIV/88 no. 2 and no. 3



Fig. 5 Inscription from the temple Mayfa'an,
Rb XIV/89 no. 246 a-d



Fig. 6 Inscription from the temple Mayfa'an,
Rb XIV/90 no. 47



Fig. 7 Inscription from the temple Rahbān,
Rb I/88 no. 99

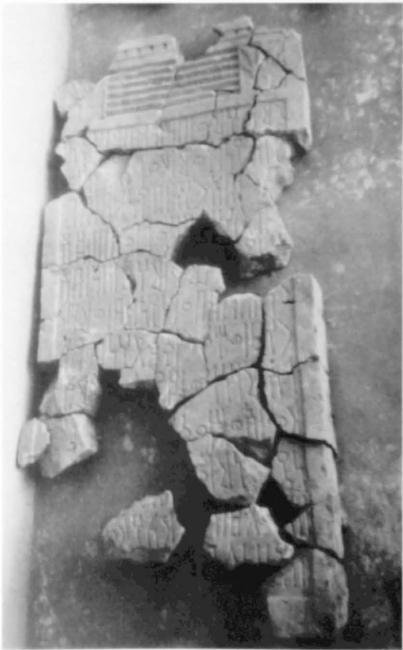


Fig. 8 Inscription from the temple Mayfa'an,
Rb XIV/89 no. 221



Fig. 9 Inscription from the temple Raḥbān, Rb I/84 bld. 3, room A lev. I no. 117 a-b



Fig. 10 a Inscription from the temple Kafas/Na'mān, Rb V/88 no. 47



Fig. 10 b Inscription from the temple Kafas/Na'mān, Rb V/88 no. 48



Fig. 11 Inscription from the temple Kafas/Na'mān, Rb V/88 no. 60



Fig. 12 Inscription from the temple Mayfa'ān, Rb XIV/90 no. 50



Fig. 13 Inscription from the temple Mayfa'ān, Rb XIV/90 no. 175

الإطار الزمني لتاريخ رييون (بحضرموت): معايير لغوية وبلوغرافية

سيرجي أ. فرانتسوزوف
(Serguei A. Frantsouzoff)

ملخص:

ملاحظة: أعدت هذه الورقة بمساعدة مالية من قبل المؤسسة الروسية للبحوث الأساسية (مشروع رقم 01-06-80249 "الطرق الإحصائية لدراسة بلوغرافيا النقوش في جنوب بلاد العرب كأساس لإعادة ترتيبها الزمني النسبي") وأقيمت كواحدة من الإسهامات في المؤتمر العلمي الدولي "Rencontres sabéennes 6" الذي عقد في برلين من 22 حتى 25 مايو (أيار) 2001.

تم اختيار 53 نقشا من بين ما يربو على 2700 وثيقة إببغرافية اكتشفها الفريق اليميني السوفيتي متعدد التخصصات (SOYCE) في الفترة من 1983 - 1991 بموقع رييون (باليمن/ محافظة حضرموت) ، وذلك بناء على خصائصها اللغوية كنماذج لجميع المراحل الثلاثة المتعاقبة من الفترة المسماة القديمة (أو المبكرة) (من القرن السابع إلى أوائل القرن الثالث قبل الميلاد): منها 28 نقشا للمرحلة الأولى (An. 1) و 5 للمرحلة الثانية (An. 2) و 20 للمرحلة الثالثة (An. 3). لكن وجود المرحلة الثانية (An. 2) من بين هذه الثلاثة التي اختارها ج. م. باور (1925-1989) ، عضو الفريق اليميني السوفيتي متعدد التخصصات ، للمرة الأولى في النصف الثاني من الثمانينيات أثارت شكوكا جادة نتيجة للعدد الضئيل جدا من النصوص المنسوبة إلى هذه المرحلة على أساس معايير لغوية صرف. وهناك افتراضان مبدئيان يبدوان قائمين: أولهما يتطلب استمرار المرحلة الثانية لفترة قصيرة نوعا ما؛ وطبقا للآخر فإن نقوش هذه المرحلة يمكن أن توصف بأنها نوع خاص من الوثائق الإببغرافية للمرحلة الأولى (ويظل مفهوما أن هذا النوع لم يكن من وجهة النظر الكرونولوجية مميزا). ولقد اقتضى أنه خلال كل مرحلة (المرحلة الأولى والثانية على الأقل) تواجدت بعض أساليب الكتابة المختلفة ببلوغرافيا جنبا إلى جنب. ولقد أظهرت التحاليل الأولية لنقوش رييون أن النظم البلوغرافية المحققة في مرحلة العمل بالنصوص المختارة تكدت في المادة الخام الإببغرافية.

THE EARLIEST MONOTHEISTIC SOUTH ARABIAN INSCRIPTION

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In the second half of the 4th century A.D. monotheism was adopted by the Ḥimyarite kingdom as the official religion. The temples were abandoned and the inscriptions no longer invoked ancestral deities¹. Of course monumental inscriptions only provide information about the situation in the upper categories of society and we have good reason to think that polytheism survived for a longer time among the lower categories.

The adoption of monotheism was not only a religious but also a political decision as was recognized by A. F. L. Beeston². After the unification of South Arabia by Ḥimyar around 300 A.D., the Ḥimyarite sovereigns had to consolidate the new state, extremely heterogeneous from an ethnical and religious point of view. To impose a common cult on the whole population, as conquerors used to do in the past, could have been a unifying factor, but in the case of Ḥimyar it would have been difficult to carry out. The Ḥimyarites had simply no cult to propose. It seems that the kingdom of Ḥimyar had no real national deity because of its structure (a confederation of tribes who continued to worship their own deities) and because of its former history; in fact, for three centuries or more the Ḥimyarites disputed with Saba' the title of the »king of Saba' and dhū-Raydān« and the Sabaeen heritage. Hence, the Ḥimyarites lacked in some way strong marks of identity. Indeed, when Yasirum Yuhan'im and Shammar Yuhar'ish unified the South Arabia around 300 A.D., they maintained the cult of the Sabaeen national deity, 'lmqb in Ma'rib. This fact survived even in the Islamic tradition. According to the commentator of Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, quoting one Abū Muḥammad, probably al-Hamdānī, both kings »confirmed Bilqīs in

her royalty and did not change anything to her status in Ma'rib«³. As al-Hamdānī says that Almaqah is Bilqīs⁴, this passage appears to be an allusion to the fact that the Ḥimyarite kings kept the cult of 'lmqb. At the time it was a logical policy for those who presented themselves as the heirs of Saba'. But it seems that, as time went by, this legacy proved to be insufficient. The Ḥimyarite kings governed from Zafār in the highlands. There was no important place of worship capable of attracting tribes from remote areas. Outside South Arabia religious philosophy was undergoing an important evolution in the centres of the contemporary world. Henotheism, syncretism, monotheism, more universal and more personal in their approach to the

Source of illustration: Photo I. al-Hudayd, National Mus. of Sana'a.

¹ There are two possible exceptions. The inscription MAFY-Banī Zubayr 2 dated 512 Ḥim./412 mentions the gate of the temple of Ta'lab but there is no invocation to this god and it does not imply that the temple was still in use at that time. The second inscription, Gr 27 which is not dated but could be dated according to paleography from the 5th century, contains the invocation: 'ttr S'rqn w-rd' 'lb-hmw w[...]ws': »'Aḥtar Shāriqān and with the assistance of their god [...]«.

² A. F. L. Beeston, *The Religions of Pre-Islamic Yemen*, in: J. Chelhod et al., *Le peuple yéménite et ses racines*, L'Arabie du Sud. Histoire et civilisation I (1984) 269.

³ N. S. al-Ḥimyarī, *Mulūk Ḥimyar wa-aqyāl al-Yaman*, qaṣīdat Naṣwān b. Sa'īd al-Ḥimyarī, taḥqīq 'Alī b. Ismā'il al-Mu'ayyad, Ismā'il b. Aḥmad al-Ḡarāfi, aṭ-ṭab'a aṭ-ṭāliḡa, Ṣan'a', Dār al-Kalima (1406 h./1985) 89. This passage is quoted by M. A. Bāfaḡh, *L'unification du Yémen antique*, Bibliothèque de Raydān I (1990) 403.

⁴ Ḥ. A. al-Hamdānī, *Kitāb al-iklīl al-ḡuz' aṭ-ṭānī*, ḥaqqāqa-hu wa-'allaqa 'alayhi Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Akwa' al-Ḥiwālī, aṭ-ṭab'a aṭ-ṭāliḡa, Bayrūt, Manṣūrāt al-Madīna (1407 h./1986) 285.



Fig. 1 The inscription YM 1950

deity were taking over traditional religions, «religions of the city». These trends must have been known to the Ḥimyarites. And this philosophy responded very well to their goal of unifying the divers groups of population. It was clever to propose to all the population a worship of one deity, acceptable to everybody. Indeed, at least in the beginning, the religious terminology used in official royal inscriptions and most other inscriptions is neutral (clearly different from the terminology used in Jewish inscriptions and the Christian inscriptions dating from the time of the Ethiopian domination in the 6th century). The one God was at first called *mr' s'myn* (the Lord of Heaven) or *mr' s'myn w-rdn* (the Lord of Heaven and Earth)⁵. From the first half of the 5th century onwards, the God was called *'l / 'ln / 'lhn* or *Rḥmnn*. The sure datable occurrences of the name *Rḥmnn* come from the second half of the 5th century or later⁶ but it was probably in use earlier: *Rḥmnn* can be restored in the inscription Ja 520 = Rossi 24 = Lundin 10 from the reign of the king Abīkarib As'ad with several co-rulers⁷.

In my opinion, the monotheism adopted by the Ḥimyarite kings, a judaizing monotheism, was presented as a kind of syncretic, national religion. The adoption of monotheism as a strong unifying factor seems to have been a conscious political decision.

INSCRIPTION YM 1950

An interesting inscription concerning the beginning of monotheism in Yemen is conserved in the National Museum of Sana'a⁸.

The inscription comes from Bayt Ghufir, 3 km north of Ḥāz, and some thirty km northeast of Sana'a.

Dimensions: length: 40 cm; height: 29,5 cm; width: 14 cm; letters' height: 4,5 cm.

It reads:

- 1 ...'q]wl s²'bn S'm'y tltñ d-Ḥmln[...
- 2 ...mr](?)-hmw (b')ls'myn l-s'(m') 'nt(w)[...
- 3 ...'m]r'-hmw T'rn Yhn'm w-bny-h[w ...
- 4 ...mlky S'b' w-d-Rydn w-Ḥdrn]wt w-Ymnt w-l-ys'm'n b'(s')[myn...
- 5 ...wr]h-hw d-brfn d-tltt w[...

Translation:

- 1 ...the qa]yls (princes) of the tribe of Sam'i, section dhī-Ḥumlān [...
- 2 ...]their [lor]d, Lord of Heaven, let <Him> hear the prayer [...
- 3 ...]their lo[rds] Tha'rān Yuhan'im and his son [...
- 4 ... two kings of Saba', dhū-Raydān, Ḥaḍrama]wt and Yamanat and let the Lord of Heaven] hear [...
- 5 ...]on the month of dhū-kharāfān of the year [...] three [...

⁵ See Table 1.

⁶ See the dated inscriptions Gar ŠY A/12-13 and Gar ŠY B/7 from 572 Ḥim./462 A.D., CIH 6/3 from 573 Ḥim./463 A.D.; Ry 520/4-5 from 574 Ḥim./464 A.D. and so on, see Table 1. In several Christian inscriptions dating from the Ethiopian domination the God's name *Rḥmnn* is mentioned in invocations to the Holy Trinity. The name *Rḥmnn* is mentioned in some inscriptions that cannot be dated precisely.

⁷ In the inscription Ja 520 = Rossi 24 = Lu 10, Ch. Robin has proposed to restore at the line 5: *l-qt ḥmr-hmw Rḥ[mnn]*: Ch. Robin, *Judaïsme et christianisme en Arabie du Sud d'après les sources épigraphiques et archéologiques*, PSAS 10, 1980, 92 f. Indeed, on an unpublished photograph of Jacqueline Pirenne (which will be soon edited) we read clearly: *l-qt ḥmr-hmw Rḥ[...]*, so the name *Rḥmnn* appeared probably already in the first half of the 5th century.

⁸ I am grateful to Dr Yusuf Abdallah, President of the High Authority of Antiquities, Museums and Manuscripts, to M. Abdal Aziz al-Gindary, the Director of the National Museum of Sana'a, for permission to publish this inscription, and to Ibrahim al-Hudayd, Ibrahim al-Hadī, Muhammad ar-Radhī and Abdallah Ishaq with whom I had the pleasure of working on the collection of the South Arabic inscriptions in this Museum. This collection will be published in collaboration with F. Bron and Y. Abdallah.

⁹ See the inscriptions Gar Bayt al-Ashwal 2/3-4 (*mr' s'myn*); RES 3383/3-4 (*mr' s'myn*); Gar Bayt al-Ašwal 1/2-3 (*mr' s'myn w-rdn*).

The authors of this text, the *qayls* of the dhū-Ḥumlān section of the Sam'ī tribe, invoke the one God, »their lord, Lord of Heaven« (...mr]'-*hmw b'ls'myn*). In the earliest monotheistic inscriptions the one God is invoked as *mr' s'myn* (the Lord of Heaven) or *mr' s'myn w-ṛdn* (the Lord of Heaven and Earth)⁹. From the first half of the 5th century onwards God is called 'l / 'ln / 'lhn or *Rḥmn*. Both names appear with the epithets *mr' s'myn* (*w-ṛdn*) or *b'l s'myn w-ṛdn* or *ḏ-l-hw s'myn* or *ḏ-b-s'myn*¹⁰.

The invocation continues: *l-s'm' 'nt* [...]. A similar passage occurs in a monotheistic inscription RES 4969/5 from the reign of Shurahbīl Yakkuf with his two sons: *l-ys'm'n b-'nt-b*[...]. These passages can be compared to *l-ys'm'n šlt*... appearing in the inscriptions RES 4699 (*l-y]s'm'n Rḥmn šltwt*); Ja 866 (*l-ys'm'n šlt-hmw*); Hamilton 11/3-4 (*l-ys'm'n Rḥmn šlt-s'*). The etymology of the word 'nt is not well established. According to the *Sabaic Dictionary* this noun derived from the root 'NW should be translated by »distress, trouble«. This rendition is possible but in the monotheistic inscription we can suggest another interpretation. A comparison with the word *šlt* appearing in similar contexts makes me suggest rendering 'nt by »prayer« and to search its etymology in one of the meanings of the Hebrew root 'NH. In Middle Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic it can mean »bowed« (with reference to God, in the sense of »humble, pious«). In Christian Palestinian Aramaic 'nwt' and in Mandaean 'nuta mean »humility«¹¹. This sense seems quite appropriate to our context. I suggest rendering *l-s'm' 'nt* [...] by »let Him hear the prayer«.

The authors then mention their [lo]rds, the kings Tha'rān Yuhan'im and his son (or sons)¹², whose name has disappeared, kings of Saba', dhū-Raydān, Ḥaḍramawt and Yamanat. Tha'rān Yuhan'im seems to be the king known by the inscriptions Ja 669, Ja 670 and Ja 671 + Ja 788, the last inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqis dedicated to Almaqāh before the total abandon of the temple. In these inscriptions, Tha'rān Yuhan'im is mentioned with his son Malkīkarib Yuha'min. It is quite also possible that in our inscription YM 1950, the son whose name has disappeared was Malkīkarib Yuha'min. The latter king, Malkīkarib Yuha'min with his two sons, Abīkarib As'ad and Dhara'amar Ayman are regarded as the first monotheistic kings

of South Arabia. They invoke the one sole God in two earliest South Arabian monotheistic inscriptions, RES 3383 and Gar Bayt al-Ashwal 2 both dated from the year 493 of the Ḥimyarite era which equals 383/384 A.D. Prior to this date we know of no datable South Arabian monotheistic invocation. The inscription YM 1950 is then the earliest monotheistic South Arabian inscription known. Its authors are not kings, so we cannot be sure that when it was written monotheism had already become the official religion professed by the king Tha'rān Yuhan'im and his son. Yet, the authors were quite probably the *qayls* of the dhū-Ḥumlān section of the Sam'ī tribe who worshipped an important deity, Ta'lab Riyāmum. If they invoke the one God, then it is possible that monotheism was already the official religion and the kings they invoke were also monotheists.

What could be the date of this inscription? Unfortunately, we only know the number of units, *tltt* – 3, and the name of the month, dhū-kharāfān / dhū-khirāfān which corresponds to August¹³. The two first monotheistic inscriptions are dated from the year 493 of the Ḥimyarite era (383/384 A.D.), one of them, Gar Bayt al-Ashwal 2, gives the name of the month: dhū-dī'wān which equals January. Our inscription could in theory be dated from the same year, from the month of dhū-kharāfān/August which comes before the month of dhū-dī'wān/January (the Ḥimyarite year starts with the month of dhū-thābatān/April) or from the year 483 or 473 of the Ḥimyarite era/373 or 363 A.D., or even earlier. Though, it seems difficult to date it earlier than 473 Ḥim./363 A.D. because in 470 Ḥim./360 A.D. the powerful family of Yaz'anid *qayls* invokes pagan deities in a long inscription, 'Abadān 1. As the family of Yaz'an seems closely

¹⁰ See the inscriptions CIH 543/1 (*Rḥmn ḏ-b-s'myn*); CIH 542/7 (*R]ḥmn ḏ-b-s'myn*); Ja 857 (*Rḥmn ḏ-b-s'm[yn]*); Ir 71/5 ('ln ḏ-b-s'myn).

¹¹ L. Koehler – W. Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament II*, trans. and ed. by M. E. J. Richardson (1995) 855.

¹² The form *bny*, »son(s)«, which appears in the text can be singular, dual or plural, but in this case it seems more probable that it is a singular.

¹³ For the name of the month *ḏ-brf* see C. Robin, *Décompte du temps et souveraineté politique en Arabie méridionale*, in: F. Briquel (ed.), *Proche-Orient ancien. Temps vécu, temps pensé, Antiquités sémitiques III* (1998) 125.

linked to the Ḥimyarite kingdom (it seems even that, of Ḥaḍramite origin, they had taken the Ḥimyar's side in the Ḥimyarite conquest of Ḥaḍramawt¹⁴), so we would expect them to invoke the one God if monotheism had been recognized as the official religion. Thus, at the time when the 'Abadān inscription was written, in 470 Ḥim./360 A.D., monotheism did not yet appear to be the official religion of the Ḥimyarite state. This leaves us with a choice of 493, 483 or 473 Ḥim. as a possible date for the inscription YM 1950. An earlier date would be more probable if we identify the king Tha'rān Yuhān'im in our inscription YM 1950 with the one mentioned as Tha'rān Yuhān'im, king of Saba' and dhū-Raydān, son of Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr, king of Saba' and dhū-Raydān in the inscription from Maṣna'at Māriya dated from the year 434 Ḥim./324 A.D. (see below). In this case if the inscription YM 1950 was dated 493 Ḥim., it means that Tha'rān Yuhān'im would have reigned 59 years or more which seems unlikely. Thus I assume that the inscription was dated 473 or 483 Ḥim./363 or 373 A.D.

The name of the king Tha'rān Yuhān'im (Yun'im) appears several times in the following inscriptions from the 4th century:

- Schm/Mārib 28, from the reign of Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr and his son Tha'rān Yuhān'im, both kings of Saba', dhū-Raydān and Ḥaḍramawt¹⁵ (the name of the latter is partially restored);
- Ja 668, from the same reign of Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr and his son Tha'rān Yuhān'im, both kings of Saba', dhū-Raydān, Ḥaḍramawt and Yamanat (the name of the former is partially restored).

Both inscriptions, Schm/Mārib 28 and Ja 668 relate a military expedition against the Ḥaḍramawt.

- Maṣna'at Māriya, this inscription, dated 434 of the Ḥimyarite era/324 A.D., mentions Tha'rān Yuhān'im, king of Saba' and dhū-Raydān, son of Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr, king of Saba' and dhū-Raydān;
- 'Abadān 1, the inscription of the Yaz'anid *qayls*, dated from the month of dhū-madhra'ān of the year 470 Ḥim./July 360 A.D., relates events involving three generations over a period that can be estimated as at least 20–30 years. The authors mention the involvement of the family in the military campaigns of the king Tha'rān

Yun'im, later of the king Tha'rān Ayfa' and then of the king Dhamar'alī Ayfa'¹⁶.

- Ja 669, 670, 671 + 788, these inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqīs mention Tha'rān Yuhān'im with his son Malkikarib Yuhān'im (with or without epithet), two kings of Saba', dhū-Raydān, Ḥaḍramawt and Yamanat.

The king Tha'rān Yuhān'im son of Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr in the inscription Maṣna'at Māriya has been identified with Tha'rān Yuhān'im son of Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr, mentioned in the inscriptions Schm/Mārib 2 and Ja 668, and with Tha'rān Yuhān'im mentioned with his son Malkikarib in the inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqīs, Ja 669, 670, 671 + 788¹⁷. It was proposed to identify this king

¹⁴ See C. Robin – I. Gajda, L'inscription du wādī 'Abadān, Raydān 6, 1994, 134.

¹⁵ For the royal title »king of Saba', dhū-Raydān and Ḥaḍramawt«, which appears for the first time in this inscription and seems to be a variant of the so-called long title »king of Saba', dhū-Raydān, Ḥaḍramawt and Yamanat«, see N. Nebes, Ein Kriegszug ins Wadi Ḥaḍramawt aus der Zeit des Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr und Tha'rān Yuhān'im, Le Muséon 109, 285 f. and below in this article, note 18.

¹⁶ It was proposed to consider the kings Tha'rān Ayfa' and Dhamar'alī Ayfa' whose names appear in the inscription 'Abadān 1 as members of the royal family who did not reign as kings unless we imagine a complicated succession of reigns (see Robin – Gajda op. cit. 133). We could also suppose that these two kings were usurpers, but this seems less probable.

¹⁷ M. al-Iryani – G. Garbini, A Sabaeen Rock Inscription at Mosna', AION 30, 1970, 408. In the inscription Maṣna'at Māriya, Tha'rān Yuhān'im is mentioned with the title »king of Saba' and dhū-Raydān« as a son of Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr »king of Saba' and dhū-Raydān«, while in other inscriptions these two kings appear with the long title, »king of Saba' and dhū-Raydān, Ḥaḍramawt and Yamanat« used by the Ḥimyarite sovereigns since its adoption by Shammar Yuhār'ish at the end of the 3rd century. W. W. Müller has suggested that it was an abbreviation of the long title which did not reflect any change in the political situation, which seems probable: W. W. Müller, Das Ende des antiken Königreichs Ḥaḍramaut. Die sabäische Inschrift Schreyer-Geukens = Iryani 32, in: R. G. Stiegner (ed.), Al-Hudhud. Festschrift Maria Höfner zum 80. Geburtstag (1981) 250. Let us mention the inscription Schm/Mārib 28 where the kings Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr and Tha'rān Yuhān'im appear with the title »king of Saba', dhū-Raydān and Ḥaḍramawt«. It seems that in the first decades after the unification of South Arabia by Shammar Yuhār'ish, the vassals of the Ḥimyarite kings did not always attach importance to the long title of their monarchs, especially when the vassals were of Ḥimyarite or Sabaeen origin.

with Tha'rān Yun'im mentioned in the inscription 'Abadān 1¹⁸. Also the king Tha'rān Yuhān'im mentioned in our inscription YM 1950 could be identified with this sovereign. This identification presupposes a long reign of this king. He would have been associated to the throne by his father, Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr, probably not long before 434 Hīm./324 A.D. (on this date he is mentioned in the inscription Maṣna'at Māriya)¹⁹. He would have reigned until at least the month of dhū-kharāfān 473 Hīm./August 363. In theory he could have reigned longer, even until 493 Hīm. (no later than dhū-dī'wān 493/January 384, the date of the inscription Gar Bayt al-Ashwal 2 from the reign of Malkikarib with his two sons, Dhara'amar Ayman and Abikarib As'ad). However, this would suppose that he would have been in power for an excessively long time (59 years or more) as stated above. Anyway, his reign would have been long, at least 39 years and probably more. It does not seem improbable²⁰.

Thus, it seems that monotheism was adopted as the official religion some time during the reign of Tha'rān Yuhān'im and his son, probably Malkikarib Yuhāmin. It would probably have happened between 470 and 483 of the Hīmyarite era / between 360 and 373 A.D. Of course, this is merely a hypothesis.

As for the Arab Islamic tradition there is not much about the king Tha'rān Yuhān'im but he seems to have been considered as a quite important sovereign. Al-Hamdānī mentions him in these words:

»Yun'im Tarān was king of kings
and to him belonged glory and pride«.

These verses are attributed to As'ad Tubba' son of Malkikarib who evokes his ancestors. Going back in time he mentions his father, Malkikarib, then Yun'im Tarān and then Shammar Yur'ish²¹.

There are also some passages in the Arab tradition that could refer to the king Tha'rān Yuhān'im. There is often question of Tubba' al-Aqran whose reign is situated between the reign of Shammar Yur'ish and those of Malkikarib and especially of his son As'ad Abikarib (Malkikarib is not always mentioned)²². This Tubba' al-Aqran appears as a good and powerful king and is said to be identified with dhū-l-Qarnayn mentioned in the Koran. Dhū-l-Qarnayn is traditionally identified with Alexander the Great, but this nickname was sometimes

given also to other personalities, like the Lakhmid prince Mundhir ibn Mā' as-Samā'. According to Nashwān al-Hīmyarī, »Many of the Hīmyarites consider that this king [Tubba' al-Aqran] was dhū-l-Qarnayn mentioned in the Holy Koran as they saw the power of his reign, his wisdom, his justice and his good conduct«²³. In another passage Nashwān states: »This king is Tubba' al-Aqran, he is dhū-l-Qarnayn, mentioned in the Koran, son of Shammar Yur'ish son of Ifriqīs son of Abrahā dhū-l-Manār son of al-Hārith ar-Rā'ish [...]. He was a great king, learned and wise. He became acquainted with the knowledge of the Book [...]«²⁴. The position of Tubba' al-Aqran identified with dhū-l-Qarnayn in the succession of the Hīmyarites kings evoked in the Islamic tradition could correspond to the position of Tha'rān Yuhān'im in the succession of the kings known by the inscriptions. Some Islamic authors consider that al-Aqran had reigned for over 50 years²⁵. Regarding the fact that Tha'rān Yuhān'im reigned for a long time and that the transition to monotheism may have taken place during his reign, I suppose that the mention of the

¹⁸ Robin – Gajda op. cit. 133.

¹⁹ The last dated inscription of one of his predecessors, Shammar Yuhār'ish, the inscription from Baynūn, YM 1695 could come from any year between 420 and 429 Hīm./ between 310 and 319 A.D. The inscription Ir 32 which relates a military expedition in the Ifāḍramawt led by the king Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr could be dated around 430 Hīm., as it was proposed by Müller op. cit. 251, which corresponds to 320 A.D. The inscription Maṣna'at Māriya could date from the solitary reign of Tha'rān or still from his reign with his father Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr.

²⁰ Indeed, his grand-son Abikarib As'ad had reigned at least since dhū-dī'wān 493/January 384 until at least dhū-kharāfān 543/August 433, 49 years or more. See the inscriptions RES 3383, Gar Bayt al-Ashwal 2 and Ry 534 + MAFY/Rayda 1.

²¹ See al-Hamdānī – Akwa' op. cit. (note 4) 337. 339.

²² See J. M. E. Gottwaldt (ed.), *Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, Ḥamzae Ispahanensis annalium libri X* (1844) 129; H. O. Fleischer (ed.), *Abū l-Fidā', Abulfedae Historia anteislamica* (1831) 116; Ibn Qutayba, *Al-Ma'ārif, taḥqīq T. 'Ukāṣa, Miṣr, Maṭba'a Dār al-Kutub, Wizāra aṭ-Taḳāfa wa al-Iṣrāf al-Qawmī* (1960) 230; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīḫ, muḡallād aṭ-ṭānī, al-qism ar-rābī', Bayrūt, Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnānī wa-Maktaba al-Madrasa* (1986) 98.

²³ Al-Hīmyarī op. cit. (note 3) 97.

²⁴ Ibidem 96.

²⁵ *Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī* op. cit. 127–128; Ibn Khaldūn op. cit. 98; Ibn Qutayba op. cit. 230.

Yemeni Tubba' al-Aqran could refer to the king Tha'rān Yuhan'im, but this is only a supposition that cannot be proved.

CONCLUSION

The question, already mentioned, is whether the presented inscription YM 1950, whose authors are not kings, could be evidence of the adoption of monotheism as the official religion by the Ḥimyarite kingdom. It is true that during the first centuries A.D. the fact of recognizing the supremacy of a king or a prince did not necessarily imply the adoption of the cult of his tutelary deity. In this case though, the authors, the *qayls* of the Sam'i tribe did not adhere to their ancestral beliefs but adopted a new religion. The dhū-Ḥumlān section of the Sam'i tribe used to worship Ta'lab and the

cult of this deity was very ancient and important. What could have been their reasons for abandoning it? It would indeed have been a strange coincidence if the *qayls* of Sam'i had abandoned their ancient cult of Ta'lab and adopted monotheism on the eve of the conversion of the Ḥimyarite kings. I consider more probable the hypothesis that the conversion of the *qayls* of Sam'i followed the adoption of monotheism as the official religion by the Ḥimyarite kings and that the inscription YM 1950 was written at the time when monotheism was already the official religion of South Arabia.

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Table 1a Monotheistic invocations classed in an approximative chronological order

God's qualificative	Inscription	Year	
		Him.	A.D.
<i>(b')ls'myn</i>	YM 1950/2		
<i>mr' s'myn</i>	Gar Bayt al-Ashwal 2/3-4	493	384
<i>mr' (s'my)[n]</i>	RES 3383/3-4	493	383/384
<i>mr' s'myn w-'rdn</i>	Gar Bayt al-Ashwal 1/2-3		
<i>'ln mr' s'myn</i>	MAFY-Bayt Ġufr 1		
<i>'l mr' s'myn w-'rdn</i>	Ry 534 + MAFY/Rayda 1/2	543	433
<i>Rḥ[ḡmn] ...</i>	Ja 520 = Rossi 24 = Lundin 10		
<i>'ln b'l s'myn</i>	RES 5085/7-8	560	450
<i>'lhn b'l s'myn w-'rdn</i>	CIH 540/81-82	564-565	455-456
<i>(')ln (b')(l) s'my(n)</i>	Dostal 1/4	566	456
<i>Rḥmn b'l s'myn w-'rdn</i>	Gar ŠY A/12-13	572	462
<i>Rḥmn b'l s'myn w-'rdn</i>	Gar ŠY B/7		
<i>b-rd' Rḥmn</i>	CIH 6/3	573	463
<i>Rḥmn b'l s'myn</i>	Ry 520/4-5	574	464
<i>Rḥm]nn</i>	CIH 45 + CIH 44/5		
<i>Rḥmn b'l s'myn</i>	CIH 537 + RES 4919/5	582	472
<i>Rḥmn b'l s'myn w-'rdn</i>	MAFRAY-Abī Ṭ'awr 4	596	486
<i>Rḥmn mr' s'myn</i>	MAFYS-Ḍura' 3	598	488
<i>Rḥm[nn]</i>	Gl 1194 = A 224/7		
<i>Rḥmn mirḥmn</i>	Fa 74/3	614	504
<i>Rḥmn b'l s'myn</i>	Gar AY 9 d/1	619	510
<i>Rḥmn b'l s'myn</i>	Gar NIS 4/6-7	617 ou 619	507 ou 509
<i>Rḥmn</i>	Robin-Viallard 1/3	629	519
<i>Rḥmn</i>	Ja 2484		
<i>'lhn ḡ-l-hw s'myn w-'rdn</i>	Ry 508/10	633	523
<i>'lhn ḡ-l-hw s'[myn w-'rdn</i>	Ry 507/1	633	523
<i>'ln ḡ-l-hw s'myn w-'rdn</i>	Ja 1028/1	633	523
<i>Rḥmn</i>	9		
<i>Rḥmn 'lyn</i>	11		
<i>...n]fs' qds'</i>	Ist. 7608 bis/1		
<i>Rḥmn w-bn-hw Krs'ts' ḡlbn [...]</i>	16		
<i>Rḥmn w-b[n]-hw ...</i>	Wellcome A103664 b/2		
<i>Rḥmn w-Ms'h-hw w-Rḥ[q]ds'</i>	CIH 541/1-3	657-658	547-549
<i>Rḥmn w-Ms'h-hw</i>	Ry 506/1	662	552
<i>Rḥmn</i>	9		
<i>Rḥmn mr' s'my(n) w-'rdn</i>	Ja 546/1	668	558
<i>Rḥmn mlkn</i>	4		

Table 1b Invocations from the texts that are difficult to class chronologically

God's qualificative or religious formula	Inscription
<i>mr' s'myn</i>	MAFRAY-Ḥaṣī 1/3
<i>Rḥmnn d-b-s'myn w-Ys'r'l w-'lh-hmw rbybd</i>	CIH 543/1-2
<i>'ln d-b-s'myn</i>	Ir 71/5
<i>R]ḥmnn d-b-s'myn</i>	CIH 542/7
<i>Rḥmnn (d)kl'n[...</i>	CIH 539/4
<i>Rḥmnn</i>	5
<i>Rḥmnn</i>	Gar NIS 3/5
<i>Rḥmn</i>	ATM 425/2, 4 (unpublished)
<i>Rḥmn</i>	RES 5064/2
<i>Rḥmnn</i>	Hamilton 11/3-4
<i>Rḥmnn</i>	RES 4699
<i>'ln</i>	CIH 151 + 152/2
<i>b'l]s'myn w-'rḏn</i>	CIH 926/3
<i>'ln b'l s'myn [w]-'r[ḏn</i>	RES 4107/3-4
<i>Rḥmnn</i>	RES 4109/1
<i>'ln b[l' ...</i>	RES 4111/2
<i>Rḥmnn d-b-s'm[yn</i>	Ja 857/3

النقوش الأولى عن التوحيد بجنوب بلاد العرب

إيفونا جايدا

(Iwona Gajda)

ملخص:

في النصف الثاني من القرن الرابع الميلادي اعتنق سكان جنوب بلاد العرب مذهب التوحيد كدين أساسي. ويرجع تاريخ أولى النقوش الملكية المعروفة التي تدعو الإله الأحد الفرد إلى 493 من العهد الحميري (384/383 ميلادية). ومؤلفوها هم الملك ملكي كرب يهأمن مع ولديه أبو كرب أسعد ، و ذراً أمر أيمن. ولم نعلم بديانة توحيد أخرى بجنوب بلاد العرب قبل هذا التاريخ.

يؤرخ النقش رقم YM 1950 الذي نقدمه في هذا المقال للعهد السالف لثأرن يهنعم مع ابنه ملكي كرب يهأمن على وجه الاحتمال. فالمؤلفون الذين كانوا أقبالا من فرع ذي حملان بقبيلة سميع ، يدعون الإله الواحد ، ربهم ، رب السماء (م ر ه / هـ م و ، ب ع ل / س م ي ن). ومن ثم ، فإن النقش رقم YM 1950 هو أقدم نقش متعلق بالتوحيد عرف في جنوب بلاد العرب. واعتقد أن الانتقال من مرحلة تعدد الآلهة إلى مرحلة التوحيد ، ربما حدث أثناء عهد ثأرن يهنعم مع ابنه ملكي كرب يهأمن ، بين عامي 470 و 483 من العهد الحميري على سبيل الاحتمال (360 - 373 ميلادية).

WHAT IS SABAEAN ART?

Problems in Distinguishing Ancient South Arabian Art Using Saba and Qataban as Examples

If in the following the question of Sabaean art and its definition is asked, this will probably appear at first sight somewhat premature for the history of the art of South Arabia. Even basic questions of ancient South Arabian art still need clarification. For example, there is still disagreement or rather helplessness with regard to the stylistic development and to an exact dating of sculpture¹. It is still disputable as to how far art in this region has gone through independent development or has reacted in the course of its development to the influences of foreign cultures². If foreign influence is recognised, the question is disputed and generally only research to a small extent is carried out as to where these originate from and how intensive this influence is³. South Arabian monuments have so far only very rarely been observed under the aspect of

Both authors are aware of the difficulty of an exact dating (Hauptmann v. Gladiss op. cit. 145 ff. 155; Antonini op. cit. 17 ff.). Therefore even with the younger works such as that of Antonini (see esp. Antonini op. cit. 18 fig. 2) we still find that they are always only put into an order of relative style stages.

² Not until most recently, as for example in the case of A. de Maigret, *Alcune considerazioni sulle origini e lo sviluppo dell'arte sudarabica*, in: N. Nebes (ed.), *Arabia Felix. Beiträge zur Sprache und Kultur des vorislamischen Arabien*. Festschrift Walter W. Müller (1994) 142 ff. and of Antonini op. cit. their own share in the development of South Arabian art is emphasized more strongly. The comparisons mentioned with the art of the Levantine, Mesopotamian, Egyptian and Greek cultural units as they are, for example, in: B. Segall, *The Arts and King Nabonidus*, *AJA* 59, 1955, 315 ff.; eadem, *Problems of Copy and Adaptation in the Second Quarter of the First Millennium B.C.*, *AJA* 60, 1956, 165 ff.; eadem, *Sculpture from Arabia Felix: the Earliest Phase*, *ArsO* 2, 1957, 35 ff.; J. Pirenne, *La Grèce et Saba. Une nouvelle base pour la chronologie sud-arabe*, *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* XV (1955) 88 ff.; C. Rathjens, *Kulturelle Einflüsse in Südwest-Arabien von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Islam*, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Hellenismus, *Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatische Forschung* 1, 1950; *Enciclopedia Universale dell'Arte I* (1958) 499 ff. s. v. *Arabici preislamici, centri e tradizioni* (A. Grohmann), should also be judged with care because of the meanwhile extended research status. Already in the 1st half of the 1st millennium B.C. outside influences are apparent in South Arabian art, but these still remain limited to a few monuments, see in particular I. Gerlach, *Zur Übernahme altorientalischer Motive in die Kunst Südarabiens. Eine reliefierte Bronzeplatte aus dem Jemen*, *BaM* 31, 2000, 259 ff.

³ S. Antonini, *Una tavoletta-portafortuna in terracotta dagli scavi di Yalā/Ad-Durayb/Repubblica dello Yemen*, in: C. Robin (ed.), *Arabia Antiqua, Early Origins of South Arabian States*, *Proceedings of the First International Conference* (1996) 143 ff.; K. Bartl, *Siegel aus Südarabien*, in: U. Finkbeiner – R. Dittmann – H. Hauptmann (ed.), *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Vorderasiens*, *Festschrift für Rainer Michael Boehmer* (1995) 5 ff.

Apart from the abbreviations suggested in *ABADY* 9 (2002) 245 ff. the following are used:

Cleveland (1965) R. L. Cleveland, *An Ancient South Arabian Necropolis. Objects from the Second Campaign* (1951) in the *Timna' Cemetery*, *PAFSM* 4 (1965)

Gerlach (2002) I. Gerlach, *Der Friedhof des Awām-Tempels in Marib. Bericht der Ausgrabungen von 1997 bis 2000*, in: *ABADY* 9 (2002) 41 ff.

Sources of illustrations: Fig. 1–5. 6 b. 11. 15: *DAI*, M. Manda. – Fig. 6 a. 7–10. 12–14. 16: *DAI*, J. Kramer.

¹ General art-historical work is still a rarity in research into ancient South Arabian art. In particular for sculptures there are only very few analyses available on this topic. The most detailed work is provided by A. Hauptmann v. Gladiss, *Probleme altsüdarabischer Plastik*, *BaM* 10, 1979, 145 ff. and S. Antonini, *La statuaría sudarabica in pietra*, *Repertorio iconografico sudarabico I* (2001). In the case of Antonini we have a study of plastically sculptured material that brings things into good order and contains detailed descriptions.

iconography and iconology. This mostly involves processing individual objects or small groups of finds⁴.

Why therefore the search for a local style, why the comparison of Saba and Qataban? Should not the other points of greater priority be researched into first, before one tries to achieve a comparative analysis?

The following note-type expositions will provide convincing information and help to direct the attention of art historic investigations to the basic questions.

The questions regarding local styles have never been posed before in detail in South Arabian archaeology, but since about the mid-sixties of the 20th century they indirectly play a decisive role in the discussion about art history⁵. Up until then the group of well-known works of art of South Arabia was very small and the few scientists who concerned themselves with the characteristics of ancient South Arabian art, such as A. Grohmann⁶ or C. Rathjens⁷ did not attempt to make any subdivisions into the art of local regions, even if both of them often make statements as to the possible origin of the objects acquired mostly from the art market. This is due alone to the fact that almost no object was able to profess an assured find context.

When in 1965 R. L. Cleveland⁸ presented a catalogue-type of publication of the objects which were found during the second excavation campaign by the AFSM in Ḥayd ibn 'Aqil, the cemetery of the Qatabanian capital Timna', the situation changed abruptly. Through Cleveland's publication, several hundred objects of the most varying categories of art became accessible in picture and description. There is evidence that these were all of the same origin, namely from one Qatabanian cemetery: they include various groups of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic sculptures, as well as friezes and reliefs, stelae and inscription bases, also altars and miniature vessels. The rich visual material in this publication has inevitably become the reference book for the classification of other art products⁹.

Unfortunately, however, the uncritical handling of Cleveland's material collection led to misinterpretations in the history of South Arabian art, which reached as far as the most recent publications of exhibition catalogues in Paris¹⁰, Vienna¹¹, Munich¹² and Rome¹³. Cleveland himself already

pointed out the main problems with the material¹⁴, other consequences were not foreseeable. This means that in general the usefulness of the material as a reference is restricted by the circumstances of the finds¹⁵. By presenting the material, only the objects of the second campaign were published¹⁶.

⁴ Compare, amongst others, Gerlach (2002) 259 ff.; H. Hirsigen, *Magnesiumhydroxycarbonat – Ein wiederentdeckter Werkstoff in der altsüdarabischen Kunst*, in: *ABADY* 9 (2002) 165 ff. as well as the works listed in note 3.

⁵ M. Höfner, *Altsüdarabische Stelen und Statuetten*, in: *Festschrift für A. E. Jensen* (1964) 217 ff. 225 establishes criteria that limit certain types to the Sabaeen or Qatabanian state as a result of the sites on which they were discovered so far.

⁶ A. Grohmann, *Arabien*, *HAW* III (1963) in particular 218 ff.

⁷ C. Rathjens, *Sabaica. Bericht über die archäologischen Ergebnisse seiner zweiten, dritten und vierten Reise nach Südarabien II*, *MMVH* 24 (1955).

⁸ R. L. Cleveland, *An Ancient South Arabian Necropolis. Objects from the Second Campaign (1951) in the Timna' Cemetery*, *PAFSM* 4 (1965).

⁹ See for example S. Antonini, *La statuaria sudarabica in pietra*, *Repertorio iconografico sudarabico I* (2001); W. Radt, *Katalog der Staatlichen Antikensammlung von Sana'a und anderer Antiken im Jemen* (1973) no. 55. 57 pl. 21; W. Müller, *Zwei altsüdarabische epigraphische Stücke aus dem Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin*, *NESE* 1, 1972, 124 no. 4–6.

¹⁰ *Institute du monde arabe* (ed.), *Yémen au pays de la reine de Saba*, exhibition cat. Paris (1997).

¹¹ W. Seipel (ed.), *Jemen. Kunst und Archäologie im Land der Königin von Saba*, exhibition cat. Vienna (1998).

¹² *Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde München* (ed.), *Im Land der Königin von Saba. Kunstschatze aus dem antiken Jemen*, exhibition cat. Munich (1999).

¹³ M. Branca (ed.), *Yemen. Nel paese della Regina di Saba*, exhibition cat. Rome (2000).

¹⁴ Cleveland (1965) 1 ff.

¹⁵ The poor description of the find context in Ḥayd ibn 'Aqil during the campaign is also expressed in the list of the finds from the 2nd campaign in the register (Cleveland [1965] 176 ff.), which are reflected, amongst others, in the following remarks: 'The addition [...] of remaining workers from the discontinued South Gate and Temple I sites (producing a total of approximately 190 workers), requires the discontinuance of fully descriptive cataloguing until field and/or laboratory assistance is available.' (Cleveland [1965] 179 no. 992).

¹⁶ Cleveland (1965) 1. The first campaign is presented so far only in a short report by G. W. Van Beek, *Recovering the Ancient Civilization of Arabia*, *The Biblical Archaeologist* 15, 1952, 14 f. Likewise W. Phillips published in his travel-diary-like description (W. Phillips, *Qataban and Sheba. Exploring Ancient Kingdoms on the Biblical Spice Routes of Arabia* [1955] 109 ff.) only some of the finds in illustrations. There is absolutely no scientific study on the material. Also the publication of the objects of the first campaign by A. M. Honeyman as announced in his foreword by Cleveland (1965) IX never took place.

Moreover important material groups such as pottery, which would have been helpful as dating criteria, remained unmentioned. Furthermore the publication of tomb architecture and the stratigraphy are missing, if we disregard the few sparse remarks¹⁷. But in particular the fact that in retrospect no expressive statement about the origin of the majority of the objects found could be determined and no information about possible connections with other finds was available, caused Cleveland to present the objects purely antiquarianly. He had his reasons for not insisting on the rule of datings. Simply a *terminus ante quem* is given for the destruction of Timna' and the connected abandonment of the cemetery in the first half of the 1st century A.D.¹⁸ – an event that according to the present status of research must more likely be dated in the 2nd century A.D.¹⁹. A chronological beginning of the use of the cemetery is never explicitly stated, but instead there is a silent acceptance of equating the period of occupation of the cemetery with the period of occupancy of the town of Timna', implying that the beginning therefore dates back at least to the 7th century B.C.²⁰.

In other publications on Timna' and its cemetery inscriptions and in particular pottery are continually mentioned as finds that fall in these earlier phases²¹. But it is especially the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic sculptures and reliefs that are never included in these²². Correspondingly there have only been late datings so far, extending to between the 1st century B.C. and the 1st century A.D. for these objects, which partly greatly differ from one another as far as style is concerned²³.

However, still more serious than these chronological problems is an apparently widespread classification of art objects by their origin, which relies entirely on the comparison with the material collection presented by Cleveland. On the one hand, without any closer explanation, it is silently expected that the material which appear on the cemetery of Timna' is Qatabanian and following this, that objects of unknown origin which have similarity with the material from Hayd ibn 'Aqil, are therefore also considered to be Qatabanian²⁴. The result of such estimations is amazing. On the one hand this gives the impression that Qataban is one of the main production areas for the ancient South Arabian sculpture, on the other hand the fine arts are concentrated on a very late period of

the caravan kingdoms, i. e. the period of its slowly beginning disintegration. But from the phase of its greatest political influence almost no corresponding Qatabanian monument is known.

The excavations by the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) which have been carried out during five campaigns on the Sabaeoan cemetery of the Awām Temple in Marib²⁵ now offer for the first time the opportunity of examining the most usual interpretations of the different origins of art on the basis of another large material collection of the most varying types in a tomb context. Therefore the decisive question is less that of what Sabaeoan art looks like, than – provocatively expressed – whether in comparison with the postulated Qatabanian art it has ever existed at all.

In some points the Sabaeoan cemetery of the Awām Temple and the Qatabanian cemetery of Hayd ibn 'Aqil are comparable despite evident differences. Both are situated significantly outside the urban settlement in connection with a sacred building²⁶.

¹⁷ Cleveland (1965) 173 f. taken over until most recently by W.D. Glanzman, Hayd Ibn 'Aqil – der Friedhof von Tamna', in: Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde München op. cit. 192 f.

¹⁸ Cleveland (1965) 1 with note 1 taken over up to today, e.g. by Glanzman op. cit. 192.

¹⁹ Personal report by A. de Maigret (Naples). These new excavation results correspond well to the dating of the necropolises by A. Jamme postulated on the grounds of the inscriptions up to the 3rd century A.D.: A. Jamme, *Pièces épigraphiques de Heid Bin 'Aqil, la nécropole de Timna'*, Bibliothèque du Musée 30 (1952) 12 f.

²⁰ Glanzman op. cit. 192; A. Avanzini, *Die Hegemonie des Reiches Qatabān*, in: Seipel op. cit. 169 as well as verbal report by A. de Maigret during the *Rencontres Sabéennes 5* in Naples in the year 2000.

²¹ Albright op. cit. 14; Jamme op. cit. 12 f.; Glanzman op. cit. 192.

²² Cleveland (1965) 1 leaves a dating open and defines only as *terminus ante quem* the year 10 A.D. or later. Compare also the new exhibition catalogue such as the Vienna Catalogue (Seipel op. cit. no. 341–357). All these objects from Timna' are dated with the exception of one (i. e. no. 348) at the first half of the 1st century A.D.; no. 156 between the 1st century B.C. and the 1st century A.D.

²³ Compare e.g. Seipel op. cit. no. 341 and 343.

²⁴ Compare ibidem no. 266–271, 274.

²⁵ See last Gerlach (2002) 41 ff. with literature.

²⁶ Cleveland (1965) 173 f.; Glanzman op. cit. 192; Gerlach (2002). Whereas the cemetery of the Awām Temple lies outside of the actual temple building, beyond the ovoid surrounding wall, the Riṣāf Temple of Hayd ibn 'Aqil lies in the middle of the area of the necropolis (Complex III) and can therefore rather be interpreted as a cemetery temple.

The burials took place in mausoleum-type buildings, which, however, are very different in their architectural detail²⁷. A considerable amount of burial gifts were placed in the tombs of both Qatabanian and Sabaeen deceased. These grave goods include normally proportioned ceramics as well as miniature objects that were made specially for the tomb. This means miniature pottery²⁸, small-sized stone vessels²⁹, altars and incense burners³⁰ as well as alabaster sculptures and reliefs³¹, which usually depicted the deceased themselves. All these provide evidence of a similar cult of the dead in both the Qatabanian and the Sabaeen kingdoms.

Chronologically speaking both cemeteries existed at the same time, even with different main occupation periods. The main occupation period of the Sabaeen cemetery of Marib falls in the time between the 6th and 3rd century B.C.³², the Qatabanian cemetery of 'Timna' on the other hand appears to have still been in full use in the first half of the Middle-Sabaeen period at least.

In the following a close look is to be taken at the individual groups of finds. Normal sized pottery as well as miniature pottery are to be disregarded, corresponding finds were indeed made in Ḥayd ibn 'Aqil, but never found their way into publications. Other miniature objects on the other hand can be found in both cemeteries and are almost identical. These include, for example, beehive vessels made of alabaster (Fig. 1)³³, vessels of steatite (Fig. 2)³⁴, miniature tripod vessels³⁵ and miniature-sized incense burners³⁶. The two published miniature tripod vessels from Ḥayd ibn 'Aqil with vertical grooved ornamentation at the surface and concluding lip at the edge³⁷ can be found in numerous samples for comparison in the cemetery of the Awām Temple (Fig. 3). The same applies to the miniature incense burners³⁸. Both the simple type with sketchy engravings is apparent in Marib (Fig. 4), and the considerably more elaborate sample with decorative elements, which are borrowed from architecture (Fig. 5).

More complicated is a comparison of sculpture. Here there are different groups of objects on both excavation sites. There seems to be more point in first concentrating on this group. But immediately, upon regarding the anthropomorphic stone heads we notice that different phases of style are represented on each of the two cemeteries. Let us begin in Ḥayd ibn 'Aqil with the style, which

varies most: There we find on the one side heads whose mask-like faces are often triangular in shape and appear strongly stylised, thus being correspondingly sketchily decorated³⁹. The individual details such as nose, mouth and eyes appear to have been attached belatedly, without gradual transitions. The ears stand off ornamentally to the sides. On the other side we find heads with a 3-dimensional moulding of the face, 'harmonious', 'naturalistic' transitions of the individual features⁴⁰. These heads give a much more life-like impression due to the richness of detail.

Between these extreme contrasts there are 'intermediate stages' which can probably be regarded as stylistic phases of development⁴¹. It is impossible to date these figures, which are so different in their stylistic design, at around the same time.

Similar phenomena can be observed with the alabaster heads from the Awām cemetery (Fig. 6 a and b): Here too strongly stylised, mask-like, almost archaic-seeming heads can be found as well as plastic, carefully modelled examples.

²⁷ Cleveland (1965) 173 ff.; Glanzman op. cit. 192 f.; Gerlach (2002); N. Röring, Grabbauten im Friedhof des Awām-Tempels als Beispiele sabäischer Sepulkralarchitektur, in: ABADY 9 (2002) 93 ff.

²⁸ S. Japp, Die Miniaturkeramik aus der Nekropole des Awām-Tempels in Marib, in: ABADY 9 (2002) 137 ff. and hint at Glanzman op. cit. 192. There are unfortunately no publications on pottery from the cemetery of Ḥayd ibn 'Aqil to date.

²⁹ Cleveland (1965) pl. 87–89.

³⁰ Gerlach (2002) pl. 18 f.; Cleveland (1965) pl. 90 f.

³¹ Gerlach (2002) pl. 31 ff.; Cleveland (1965) e.g. pl. 1–23, 44 f. 52–55.

³² N. Norbert, Die 'Grabinschriften' aus dem 'Awām-Friedhof. Vorerbericht über die Kampagnen 1997 bis 2001, in: ABADY 9 (2002) 161 ff.; Gerlach (2002) 45.

³³ Cleveland (1965) pl. 87 TC 1134. pl. 88 TC 1772. pl. 89 TC 1951.

³⁴ Cleveland (1965) e.g. pl. 87 TC 1129. TC 1134. TC 1906; pl. 88 TC 1813. TC 2525; pl. 89 TC 1957. TC 2514.

³⁵ Gerlach (2002) pl. 18 no. 2–5; Cleveland (1965) pl. 90 TC 1100. TC 1189. TC 1217. TC 1263. TC 1545. TC 1565. TC 1908. TC 2020. TC 2019.

³⁶ Gerlach (2002) 19 no. 1–3; Cleveland (1965) pl. 90 TC 1731. TC 2273. TC 1862. TC 1915.

³⁷ Ibidem pl. 90 TC 1217. TC 1565.

³⁸ Ibidem pl. 90 TC 1955. pl. 91 TC 2011.

³⁹ Ibidem e.g. pl. 16 TC 1882. pl. 23 TC 2259.

⁴⁰ Ibidem e.g. pl. 1. 2 TC 539. pl. 6 TC 914. pl. 17 TC 1795. TC 1982.

⁴¹ Ibidem e.g. pl. 7 TC 1316. pl. 9 TC 1361. pl. 19 TC 2041.

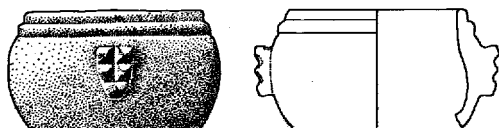


Fig. 1 Beehive vessel made of alabaster. Cemetery of the Awām Temple (Aw 99 B 784). Scale 2:3

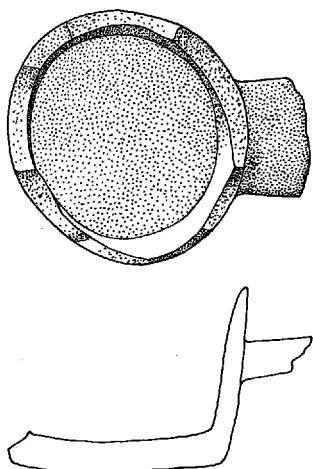


Fig. 2 Vessel of steatite. Cemetery of the Awām Temple (Aw 98 A 2293). Scale 2:3

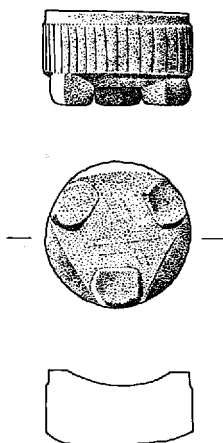


Fig. 3 Miniature tripod vessel made of alabaster. Cemetery of the Awām Temple (Aw 97 A 970). Scale 2:3

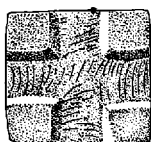
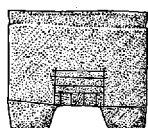
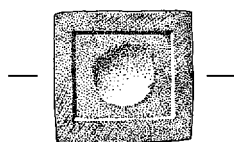


Fig. 4 Miniature incense burner made of limestone. Cemetery of the Awām Temple (Aw 01 E 153). Scale 2:3

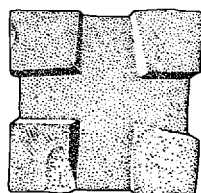
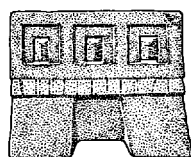
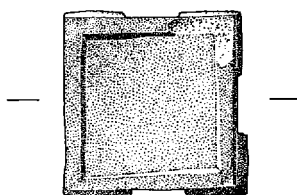


Fig. 5 Miniature incense burner made of limestone. Cemetery of the Awām Temple (Aw 01 F 15). Scale 2:3



Fig. 6a Alabaster head in a more 'archaic' style. Cemetery of the Awām Temple (Aw 98 B 443). H: 15,0 cm; W: 12,6 cm; TH: 8,9 cm

The process of the individual stylistic stages of development seems to be comparable and shows that they have a lot in common, whereby the more mature, more 'naturalistic' types in Timna' are in the majority. This may certainly not be interpreted as a coincidence of the excavation finds, but must be explained by the different main occupation periods of both cemeteries.

Probably the biggest differences between both cemeteries lie in the burial cult. Whereas almost all Sabaean tomb heads were all placed in the niches of tomb stelae or in those of the tomb façades (Fig. 7), some but not all heads from Timna' appear to belong to the category of free-standing figures which are visible from all sides⁴² or mounted on a base⁴³. The above-average length of the necks which could be set into the pedestal with their lower ends, could be well explained in this way. A head – although very small – from Timna' demonstrates this method of installation⁴⁴ and leads us to assume that other heads⁴⁵ were designed similarly.

Other heads on the other hand, just like those from the Awām cemetery (Fig. 8), have a flat back which is not elaborated plastically⁴⁶. The heads which are designed to be viewed from the front must also have been set in niches. Niches in tomb

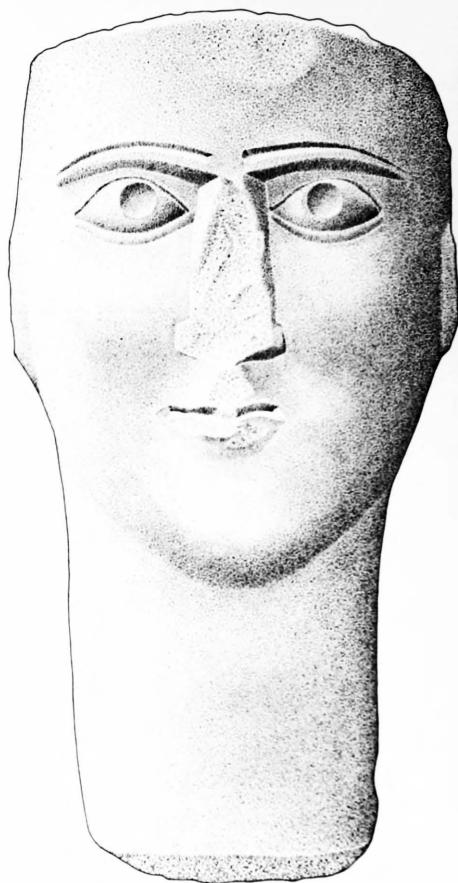


Fig. 6b Alabaster head in a more plastic and 'naturalistic' style. Cemetery of the Awām Temple (Aw 99 B 594).

⁴² Ibidem pl. 15 TC 1603. It can be presumed that some of the heads belong to statuettes as is illustrated, for example, in Cleveland op. cit. pl. 28 and 29 TC 1518. Some of these were found standing on a pedestal but without a head. Cleveland ibidem pl. 30. 31 TC 1587.

⁴³ Cleveland (1965) pl. 24. 25 TC 1884.

⁴⁴ Ibidem.

⁴⁵ Ibidem pl. 26 TC 2053. Presumably the head also belongs to this group: ibidem pl. 6 TC 914.

⁴⁶ Ibidem e.g. pl. 16 TC 1882. pl. 18 TC 1975. pl. 19 TC 2041.



Fig. 7 Niche in a tomb façade (Tomb 10, Areal B at the Cemetery of the Awām Temple)

façades or tomb stelae like those found in the Awām cemetery are, however, not known in Timna' according to the publication. Cleveland simply mentions that during the first campaign in Timna' so-called house-shrines were found that with their niches could have been used to accommodate plastically sculptured heads⁴⁷. On the other hand the 'stone housings' excavated during the second campaign are different to the tomb stelae found in the Awām cemetery: In the case of the tomb stelae the niche is usually worked in the upper third of the oblong stone. The alabaster head was set in the niche with the help of plaster or in the case of the broader and higher niches a bust was set in. The lower part of the stelae, which takes up to two-thirds of the total height, was used as a pedestal. In the so-called stone housings of Timna' there is a niche worked into an oblong-shaped stone, adapted to match the shape of the stone⁴⁸. A kind of pedestal does not exist in the examples published by Cleveland. The height of the niches rather suggests that there were the images of persons in the form of very slender busts or reliefs standing in them⁴⁹ and no heads.

If one takes a look at other anthropomorphic art products from Timna', the main thing that one notices is the much wider range of variations in Ḥayd ibn 'Aqīl contrary to the finds so far in the cemetery of the Awām Temple. Whereas the anthropomorphic portrayals in Marib are restricted

to a limited number, the most varying groups can be found on the cemetery of Ḥayd ibn 'Aqīl. Apart from reliefs with⁵⁰ and without profile portrayals⁵¹ also statuettes⁵², busts⁵³ and so-called eye stelae or here better face plaques⁵⁴ have been revealed.

Should we recognise a typical 'Qatabanian style' in these groups of objects, which are quite different from the Sabaean repertoire? In view of the present status of research the answer to this question should rather be no than yes. The issue needs thorough clarification, if one takes the following explanations into consideration.

⁴⁷ Ibidem 168 with note 1. The publication by A. M. Honeyman of the so-called stone housings announced in this and which were found during the first campaign in Timna' never took place.

⁴⁸ Cleveland (1965) pl. 107 TC 1613. TC 1881 as complete examples of the 'stone housings' even if there were no more sculptures in the niches or, as in the case of TC 1881 only a fragment still exists.

⁴⁹ Compare Cleveland (1965) e.g. pl. 43 TC 1294. pl. 44 TC 1307. pl. 46 f.

⁵⁰ Ibidem pl. 42 TC 870. pl. 43 TC 1294.

⁵¹ Ibidem pl. 46–50.

⁵² Ibidem pl. 28 f. 31 TC 1587. pl. 35. 36 TC 2064.

⁵³ Ibidem pl. 41. 45. 51.

⁵⁴ Ibidem pl. 36 TC 675. TC 504. TC 1574; pl. 37–39. 40 TC 1709. TC 1744. These broad rectangular stones in fact do not represent stelae but relieved slabs that were perhaps built into the façades of the tombs or set into some form of niches. Their design was based, however, on the actual eye stelae.



Fig. 8 Alabaster head with a flat back. Cemetery of the Awām Temple (Aw 00 B 1240). H: 14,2 cm; W: 12,1 cm; TH: 9 cm



Fig. 9 Alabaster head of a woman. Cemetery of the Awām Temple (Aw 00 B 1239). H: 12 cm; W: 9 cm; TH: 6,1 cm

Therefore eye or face stelae cannot be determined until the last centuries B.C. with the immigration of an Arabic population⁵⁵. It can be determined that this form of tomb stela was taken over from North-West Arabia as new Arabian names are often mentioned on the South Arabian eye stelae. This means that the eye stelae constitute a form of tomb stelae which can be ascribed to a special ethnic group rather than be described as typically 'Qatabanian'. Depicting the deceased in this type of stylised representation of the face is not only limited to the Qatabanian burial rites⁵⁶. However, up to now there is only evidence in Timna' of the variation of the eye or face stelae as a broad rectangular slab. As material it was not alabaster that was used – as for almost all other sculptures from Timna' – but limestone. The stylised design of the faces quite clearly has the so-called eye stelae as its model and can therefore not be described as being genuinely Qatabanian.

Likewise the reliefs with portrayals in profile and statuettes with advanced plastic decorations can more probably be dated into the Middle-Sabaeen period. This is also suggested by the inscriptions of this period on the objects. For chronological reasons these objects are less comparable with those of the Awām cemetery: In the last cen-

turies B.C. the main period of occupation of the Awām cemetery was already over.

However, on the other hand objects can also be found on the Awām cemetery which are well comparable with the finds in Ḥayd ibn 'Aqīl. Here, for example, two unusual alabaster heads can be mentioned⁵⁷: The one from the Awām cemetery was originally affixed in a niche, as it is testified by the flat preparation of the reverse (Fig. 9). The shapes of both faces are oval and worked in three dimensions, eyes, nose and ears are strongly modelled. Particularly striking is the design of the hairstyle. The long hair falls back tightly from the flat brow. It is drawn along behind the ears and comes to rest in thick knots at about the height of the shoulders, which are not expressed in three dimensions. The hair is artistically styled in curls. The hairstyle can

⁵⁵ C. Robin, La pénétration des Arabes nomades au Yémen, in: C. Robin (ed.), *L'Arabie antique de Karib'il à Mahomet*, *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 61 (1991/93) 71 ff.; Seipel op.cit. 331 no. 264 with other literature.

⁵⁶ Compare e.g. the different statements of the origin of the eye stelae in Seipel op.cit. (n. 11) 331 no. 264 (al-Jawf), 332 no. 265 (Shabwa).

⁵⁷ Cleveland (1965) pl. 14 TC 1589.



Fig. 10 Engraved bas-relief of a mask on the wall of a tomb (Tomb 21, areal B at the cemetery of the Awām Temple)



Fig. 11 Part of a limestone slab from the National Museum Sana'a

also be found on some engraved or relieved heads on Tomb 21 on the Awām cemetery⁵⁸ (Fig. 10). The long hairstyle of the women ends to the left and right on the shoulder in a rounded, slightly thickening out mop of hair. The hairstyle of a woman depicted in profile on a limestone slab of unknown origin from the National Museum in Sana'a is similar in shape⁵⁹ (Fig. 11). The similarities between the compared examples are, however, not only limited to the hairstyle: All the faces are depicted with full cheeks, the eyes and the chin are either plastically emphasized with a dimple in the middle or, in the case of the heads from the Awām cemetery, outlined with scratched lines. The ears are in front of the hair which is depicted from the side. Only in the scratched heads of the Awām cemetery did the »stonemason« simplify the depiction method by setting them at the side above the styled hair.

Plastically sculptured examples of this type of head are only known to us so far from the Sabaean and Qatabanian cemetery. For this reason we cannot determine whether these are typical stylistic features of Qatabanian or Sabaean art. One would tend to speak of a parallel development within these two caravan kingdoms. Beyond these two examples there are further signs that bear witness that – despite their independence of one another – both in Qataban as well as in Saba similar criteria influenced the production of art and the sense of style.

Some bust-like figures were continually described as being pure »Qatabanian art«⁶⁰. These busts made of alabaster can have a flat base with the inscription of names. Above the base arises the sketchily formed upper part of the body, made from one piece and with a slightly swelling breast. The arms lie parallel to the upper part of the body, the lower arms are bent and crossed in front of the stomach. Only the head can be fully plastically formed or is set off in a deep, very plastically carved relief against the background. It displays style elements of a more »naturalistic« use of forms and therefore enables a relatively late chronological classification. Up to now one piece of similar character has been found on the Awām

⁵⁸ Tomb 21 is dated in the 6th century B.C. due to the inscription and the foundation level on the natural rock and not like later tombs on sediments (see Gerlach [2002] 52 pl. 10). On the other hand it is not possible to say exactly when the relieved or carved heads were installed (ibidem 52 f. with n. 92 pl. 10). It is noticeable that the names of the tomb owners mentioned in the inscription do not appear again on the heads with one exception only, so that we presume that these probably originated from a re-occupation of the tombs at a later stage. The fact that the tombs of the Awām cemetery were used time and time again is shown quite clearly by the excavation (ibidem 51 ff., in particular 54).

⁵⁹ W. Radt, Katalog der Staatlichen Antikensammlung von Sana'a' und anderer Antiken im Jemen (1973) 14 no. 58 pl. 22.

⁶⁰ Cleveland (1965) pl. 44 TC 1307. pl. 45 TC 1557.

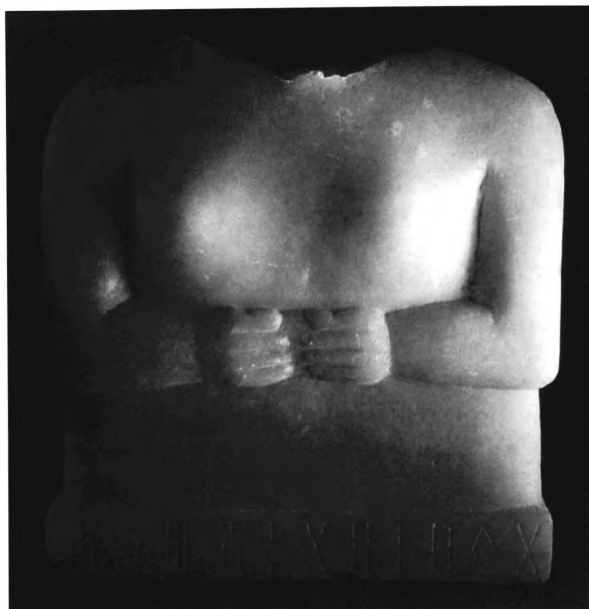


Fig. 12 Alabaster bust of a woman. Cemetery of the Awām Temple (Aw 01 F 44). H: 25,7 cm; W: 24,3 cm; TH: 7,1 cm

cemetery (Fig. 12). As far as stylistic evaluation is concerned, the busts suggest a similar stage of development in comparison to the bust with the fully sculptured head from Timna⁶¹. Unfortunately the head is missing from the example from the Awām cemetery which makes a comprehensive comparison difficult. Its inscription bears the name of a woman whose family is already often recorded in Marib, amongst others as the owner of palm gardens⁶². This record does not allow to interpret these busts as tomb monuments, which were built for people from Qataban who died in foreign regions. It is also just as unlikely that the Sabaeans, who were particularly traditional in their art production, chose typical tomb monuments of Qataban and especially when one considers that Qataban was not exactly connected with the kingdom of Saba by friendly bonds⁶³. The depiction of the deceased in the form of busts was certainly customary in Sabaean burial art.

Also statues and statuettes of standing persons with arms bent are usually automatically ascribed to the Qatabanian cultural unit and understood as an expression of Qatabanian art⁶⁴. In this case too

it is important to point out that an unfortunately very badly damaged fragment of the portrayal of a person made of alabaster with the hint of a bent arm has been preserved on the Sabaean cemetery (Fig. 13) and can certainly be ascribed to this group. Also in the series of depictions which tend to be rather untypical for Sabaean art is a funerary stela with a niche in which there is still a garment of an alabaster bust in the lower part (Fig. 14). Parts of the breast can be seen quite clearly but there is no indication at all of any arms folded beneath the breast. The fragment can, however, still be clearly

⁶¹ Ibidem pl. 45 TC 1557.

⁶² The processing and publication of the inscription is in the hands of N. Nebes and will be appearing in the series EFAH. The inscription on the bust is dated as a result of palaeographical comparisons at the 3rd–1st century B.C. and can therefore be classified chronologically parallel to the examples from Timna'. I would like to thank N. Nebes for pointing this out.

⁶³ Avanzini op. cit. (n. 20) 171; C. Robin, Qatabān, in: Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible (1977) 597 ff.

⁶⁴ See e.g. Seipel op. cit. cat. 404, 405; Cleveland (1965) pl. 31 TC 1587. pl. 35 TC 2064. pl. 36 TC 2064.



Fig. 13 Fragment of an alabaster bust. Cemetery of the Awām Temple (Aw 98 B 135). H: 13 cm; W: 23,5 cm; TH: 12,6 cm

classified as a bust and therefore typologically belongs to the series of the two examples from the Awām cemetery already mentioned. In this case too we are not talking about a »Qatabanian import«. These examples from the Sabaeen cultural unit, of which only a few individual ones have become apparent so far, prove that at certain times, both in Qataban and in Saba very similar expressions of art must have existed.

As a conclusion one can say that the few examples that have been presented here should on the one hand demonstrate the great differences in the art production of Ḥayd ibn 'Aqīl, the cemetery of Timna', and the Awām cemetery, a burial place of Marib. On the other hand they emphasize the fact that at the present point in time we are still a long way from defining local traditions and therefore from being able to speak of local styles, for example of »typical« Qatabanian or Sabaeen art. One should therefore rather presume a similar attitude to art in the various caravan kingdoms within one period of time. The undeniable differences between Sabaeen and Qatabanian art cannot be explained as being purely cultural but often chronological. The obvious differences are not substantiated in the style or the artistry, but in the choice of motifs in the figurative sense. As it looks at the moment, the stelae with bulls' heads⁶⁵ and the unornamented stelae on a base⁶⁶ are Qatabanian motifs, whereas the burial gifts often found in Marib such as terracotta figurines of women (Fig. 15) and dromedaries (Fig. 16) are not apparent in Ḥayd ibn 'Aqīl.

On the cemeteries of Timna' and Marib a large number of art products were found which are characteristic of both places such as a large number of miniature vessels, the busts or the way in which

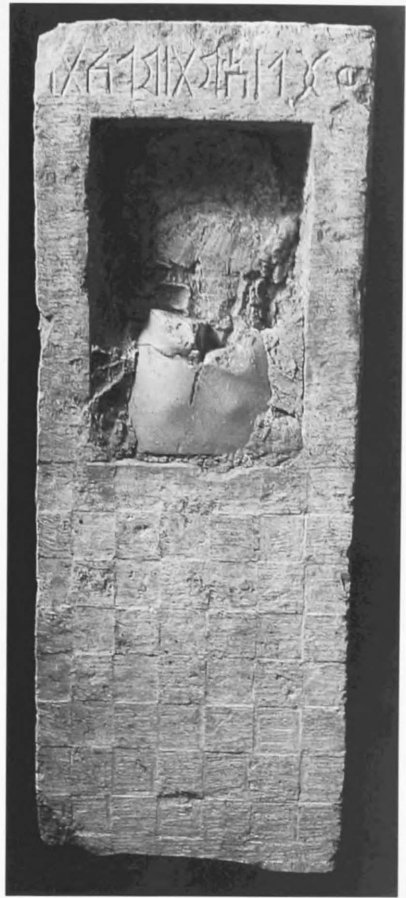


Fig. 14 Funerary stela with a fragment of an alabaster bust. Cemetery of the Awām Temple (Aw 99 B 764). H: 76 cm; W: max. 30; TH: 27 cm

alabaster heads were designed. The great differences, however, cannot be explained as originating from different local styles but in particular through being of different chronological categories.

It is true that the publications on the cemetery of Ḥayd ibn 'Aqīl still do not facilitate any distinct datings so far, but can at least be orientated on a few definite aspects. The burial site was probably used during the whole of the period of settlement

⁶⁵ Cleveland (1965) pl. 64–67.

⁶⁶ Ibidem pl. 70–77.

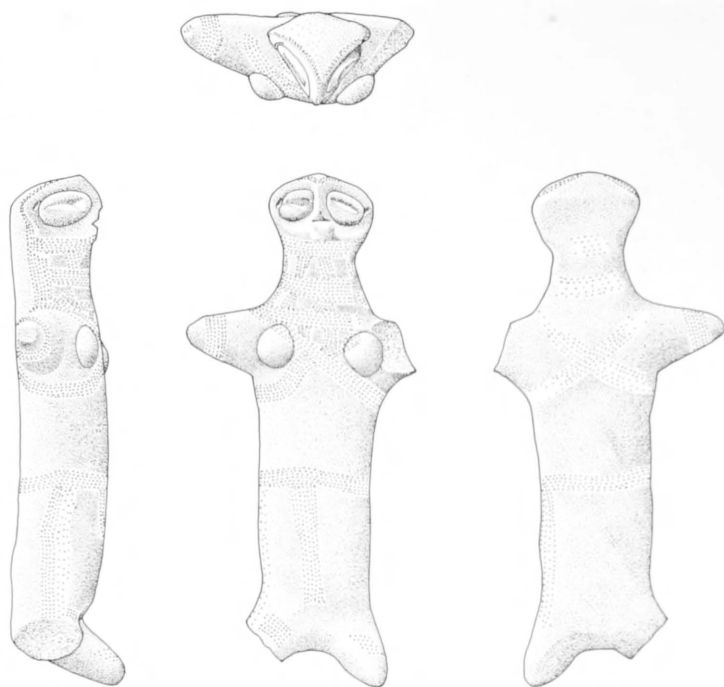


Fig. 15 Terracotta figurine of a woman. Cemetery of the Awām Temple (Aw 00 D 125).

Scale: 2:3



Fig. 16 Terracotta figurine of a dromedary. Cemetery of the Awām Temple (Aw 98 A 2248). H: 8,4 cm; W: 5,4 cm; L: 11,4 cm

of Timna', i. e. at least from the 7th century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D. It appears, however, that the main period of occupation did not begin until the time when the Qataban had risen to be the most powerful kingdom in the region and lasts until far into the period of its decline. The boundaries in time are particularly well testified by numerous imported pieces. Although exact datings are only possible to a limited extent even in Marib because of the extensive recent damage to the Awām cemetery, it can be recorded that the main period of occupation was between the 6th and 3rd century B.C. and that the cemetery was used considerably less after that. According to this the main periods of occupation of both cemeteries are different and overlap only in the 4th and 3rd century B.C. Differences in the production of art must therefore be rather chronological because they originally come from a different local art tradition. On the other

hand, we must not completely eliminate the possibility that there are local specialities in the art creation of South Arabia. After all, for example, the great differences in the Sabaeen and the Qatabanian inscriptions are adequately well-known. In the end also the architecture of both cemeteries has no similarity of both cultures⁶⁷. But it is the common features in their material cultures that are predominant, not the differences. It seems to be a matter of top priority in an examination of the history of art of the region, to make up a conclusive typology and chronology. Not until this stage

has been completed can we devote ourselves to issues of local style in South Arabia. However, there is already evidence that postulated differences are far more seldom than was presumed up to now.

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⁶⁷ Ibidem 173 ff. plan 1. 2.

ما هو الفن السبني؟

مشاكل التعرف على استخدام الفن القديم في جنوب بلاد العرب

سبا وفتيان كمثالين

إيرس جريلاخ

(Iris Gerlach)

ملخص:

بالرغم من أنه لم تجر حتى الآن إلا أبحاث قليلة جدا في الآثار القديمة لجنوب بلاد العرب تعالج الجوانب التاريخية الفنية وللضحايا المتعلقة بتحديد الأساليب المحلية ، فمن الشائع تماما في الأدب ذكر موضوعات من مجال الفن لا سيما في هذه الحال فن النحت المرتبط باسم الممالك القديمة في جنوب بلاد العرب من أجل التأكيد على مميزات الأسلوب المختلفة في ممالك القوافل.

ويحاول مقالنا هذا أن يفرق بين هذه المصطلحات الموضحة ويقارن الفن المسمى القتباني الأصلي بالفن السبني. وهو يستخدم من الأمثلة قطعا فنية من مقبرتين اثنتين: مقبرة حيد بن عقيل ومقبرة معبد أوام السبئية بمأرب. وبفعل ذلك تتم مقارنة قطع ذات ملامح إيقرونية وأسلوبية متشابهة ، ويتم تقديم أمثلة غير معروفة تماما مثل الرؤوس الرخامية وأجزاء التماثيل النصفية لمقابر سبا يمكن وصفها بأنها قتبانية أصيلة وليست سبئية إذا لم يوجد سياق الاكتشاف الموثوق به. وهناك اختلافات عديدة بين الفن في موقعي الاكتشاف يمكن توضيحها قليلا بواسطة التقاليد المحلية في الأسلوب ، ولكن يمكن توضيحها أكثر بواسطة فترات الاستخدام الرئيسية المختلفة للمقابر التي تدخلت فقط في القرنين الرابع والثالث قبل الميلاد.

»THE AGE OF THE FIGHTING KINGDOMS« in South Arabia (1. Century B.C. – 3. Century A.D.)

Aspects of the Material Culture in a Period of Change

INTRODUCTION

In the South Arabian archaeology it is often customary when dating find objects to adapt the chronological system used by epigraphists. In the meantime this system has been recognised in its elemental form¹ and is particularly suitable for art objects which have inscriptions on them such as sculptures and reliefs for which we still do not have any definite systems of stylistic development to date². As is well-known, the epigraphic chronology system is divided into three main groups, an »old« or »classical« period, which occurs in the time from 7th to the end of the 2nd century B.C., into a »intermediate« period, which is dated

Sedov – P. A. Griaznevich (ed.), Raybūn Settlement II (1996) 152 fig. 8 pl. CXXIV. – Fig. 16: W. Daum (ed.), Jemen (1987) 52. – Fig. 17. 18. 20 a. b: Vienna Catalogue 88 no. 20. 21; 388 no. 461; 391 no. 464. – Fig. 19: K. Weidemann, Könige aus dem Jemen (1983) 7, 14. – Fig. 21–23: DAI.

Apart from small changes the text is similar to the lecture held at the *Rencontres Sabéennes 6* in Berlin. Due to the lecture character of the text, ideas and methods of argumentation are kept to a minimum, some in a simplified form. Some sections need more detailed explanation which will be offered at a later stage. Nevertheless individual aspects are already touched on the footnotes and will be discussed in more detail later.

¹ After the lengthy conflict between the supporters of the »short« (incl. J. Pirenne, *Paléographie des inscriptions sudarabes*, *Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der Letteren. Verhandeling nr. 26* [1956]) and the »long« chronology (e.g. H. von Wissmann, *Die Geschichte des Sabäerreiches und der Feldzug des Aelius Gallus*, ANRW II 9, 1 [1976] 320 ff.) it appears that an agreement has been met in favour of the »long« version which corresponds best to the archaeological data. A summary of the conflict seen through the eyes of an archaeologist: K. Schippmann, *Geschichte der altsüdarabischen Reiche* (1998) 32 ff. The basis of the chronology continues to be formed by a modified palaeographical model by Pirenne only with other absolute datings. Cf. Ch. Robin, *Die Grundlagen der Chronologie Altsüdarabiens und ihre Probleme*, Vienna Catalogue 71 ff.

² Unfortunately in the present South Arabian archaeology almost no importance is placed on art-historical questions. Therefore one very rarely finds, e.g. that findings are dated by their archaeological context or via style analyses. If possible one relies entirely on palaeographical arguments. In the few art-historical studies that have appeared recently – in particular S. Antonini, *La statuaría sudarabica in pietra*, *Repertorio iconografico sudarabico 1* (2001) should be mentioned – in my opinion it is already noticeable that a relative chronology as well as an exact absolute chronology cannot be achieved alone through the palaeography of the few objects bearing an inscription.

Apart from the abbreviations suggested in ABADY 9 (2002) 245 ff. the following are used:

Paris Catalogue	Institut du Monde Arabe (ed.), <i>Yémen au pays de la reine de Saba</i> , exhibition cat. Paris (1997)
Vienna Catalogue	W. Seipel (ed.), <i>Jemen. Kunst und Archäologie im Land der Königin von Saba</i> , exhibition cat. Vienna (1998)
Munich Catalogue	Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde München (ed.), <i>Im Land der Königin von Saba. Kunstschatze aus dem antiken Jemen</i> , exhibition cat. Munich (1999)

Sources of illustrations: Fig. 1: DAI, H. Hügen – U. Wiegmann. – Fig. 2 a. b: J.-F. Breton, CRAIBL 2000, 858 fig. 5. – Fig. 2 c: J.-F. Breton – A. M. McMahon – D. A. Warburton, AAE 9, 1998, 96 fig. 3. – Fig. 2 d. 9: J.-F. Breton (ed.), *Fouilles de Shabwa III* (1998) 44 fig. 1; 53 fig. 2. – Fig. 3. 14: A. de Maigret, *Arabia Felix* (1996) Taf. VI; 307 fig. 68. – Fig. 4: DAI, B. Vogt. – Fig. 5: J.-F. Breton (ed.), *Fouilles de Shabwa II* (1992) 156 fig. 22. – Fig. 6: J.-F. Breton et al., *Syria* 74, 41 fig. 3. – Fig. 7: DAI/DBM, J. Heckes – A. Fengler. – Fig. 8. 15: DAI, J. Kramer. – Fig. 10. 11: DAI, I. Gerlach – B. Vogt. – Fig. 12: J.-F. Breton – M. A. Bā-faḡh, *Trésors du Wādī Dura* (1993) fig. d. – Fig. 13 a. b: A. V.

between the 1st century B.C. and the 3rd century A.D. and a »late« period which extends up to the time when the South Arabian script was abandoned during the 6th century A.D.³ Ch. Robin and B. Vogt first replaced or rather supplemented this sober and less expressive terminology in the catalogue for the Paris Yemen Exhibition in 1997 with a historic component. In their descriptions they designate the individual ages by using the most important political terms as key words⁴: Thus the »classical« period becomes the »age of the caravan kingdoms«, for which A. F. L. Beeston had previously made the term »sayhadic« known⁵, the »intermediate« period becomes the »age of the fighting kingdoms« and the »late« period the »Himyarite age«.

If one disregards the historic or epigraphic chronology and regards archaeology, then it becomes apparent that there is already wide knowledge of several periods of the historic, ancient South Arabian era, other eras however still more or less represent a *terra incognita*. In particular the research into the »caravan kingdoms« has been able to record enormous increases in knowledge due to the numerous excavations over the past few decades⁶, whereby it was possible, due to, amongst other things, the excavations in Yalā, to set a proto-historic phase, i.e. the formative age of the caravan kingdoms, before the historic age of the Ancient South Arabia⁷. On the other hand there has been much less research into the two last South Arabian ages. It is in particular the Himyarite age that from an archaeological point of view leaves almost all questions unanswered. Knowledge of this era has only so far been derived from inscriptions⁸, a few Graeco-Roman sources and numerous architectural features such as columns, capitals and reliefs which, however, have come upon us almost without any archaeological context⁹.

Also the previous era, there has only been very little research into »age of the fighting kingdoms« so far. From the results of the few excavations that involve this age, characteristic features can already be derived which make it plausible to speak not only in a political sense of an own age, but also with reference to the material evidence of the culture.

A material stocktaking of this period seems to me to make sense even at this early stage, as in earlier research projects by the Oriental Institute of Chicago in the Dhamār region chronologically dif-

ferent emphases are placed and the last two Ancient South Arabian ages, the intermediate and the late ages, are compounded into one¹⁰: After the

³ The three great phases of the ancient South Arabian inscription is preceded by a formative phase from around 1200 B.C. and the monumental inscriptions by an »archaic« phase from about the 8th century B.C. Cf. Robin loc. cit. The youngest known inscription to date (CIH 325) is dated at around 560 A.D. Cf. W. W. Müller, CIH 325: Die jüngste datierte sabäische Inschrift, in: *Études sud-arabes. Recueil offert à Jacques Ryckmans. Publications de l'institut orientaliste de Louvain* 39 (1991) 117 ff.

⁴ Ch. Robin, La chronologie et ses problèmes, in: *Paris Catalogue* 60 ff. with period charts 63. Also cf. B. Vogt-Ch. Robin, L'unité culturelle de l'Arabie méridionale, in: *Paris Catalogue* 223 ff.

⁵ A. F. L. Beeston, *Apologia for 'Sayhadic'*, PSAS 17, 1987, 13 f.

⁶ The exhibition catalogues of Paris (1997), Vienna (1998) and Rome (2000) provide the best insight into the current status of research. Here the current intensive research activity on the one hand in the field of prehistory and on the other hand in the field of the cultures of the caravan kingdoms becomes apparent.

⁷ The main material for this was provided by the excavations in Yalā. Cf. A. de Maigret, The Sabaeen Archaeological Complex in the Wādī Yalā (Eastern Hawlān at-Tiyāl, Yemen Arab Republic): A Preliminary Report. *IsMEO* (1988). The results were able to verify individual indications as to a chronological placing of the caravan kingdoms already in the late 2nd or early 1st millennium B.C. in the case of other excavations (Hajar bin Humayd). Other excavations, e.g. in Raybūn or in Marib confirm the chronological estimation.

⁸ Thanks to the numerous dated inscriptions one can speak in this period of a chronology which is certain at least in its essential features. Cf. Ch. Robin, op. cit. 71 ff.

⁹ Cf. e.g. the Himyarite objects in: P. Costa, *Antiquities from Zafār (Yemen)*, AION 33, 1973, 185 ff.; idem, *Antiquities from Zafār (Yemen)* II, AION 36, 1976, 445 ff.; idem, *The pre-Islamic Antiquities at the Yemen National Museum* (1978); W. Radt, *Katalog der Staatlichen Antikensammlung von Sana'a und anderer Antiken im Jemen* (1973). It can be hoped that the more recent research by the Oriental Institute, Chicago in the Dhamār region (T. J. Wilkinson and M. Gibson) as well as by the University of Heidelberg (P. Yule) in Zafār will at least result in Himyarite finds from archaeological contexts which extend beyond merely ceramics.

¹⁰ Beginning with the theoretical, rather academically striking foundation of the kingdom of Himyar around 110 B.C. up to the beginning of the Islam in South Arabia the chronological sequence is described in general as the »Himyarite Ages. Cf. M. Gibson-T. J. Wilkinson, *The Dhamār Plain, Yemen: A Preliminary Study of the Archaeological Landscape*, PSAS 25, 1995, 159 ff. with tab. 2.; T. J. Wilkinson-C. Edens-M. Gibson, *The Archaeology of the Yemen High Plains: A Preliminary Chronology*, AAE 8, 1997, 99 ff. esp. 129 f.; T. Wilkinson, *Settlement, Soil Erosion and Terraced Agriculture in Highland Yemen: a Preliminary Statement*, PSAS 29, 1999, 189 fig. 5.

Bronze Age, in the highlands of Dhamār follows the Iron Age. The use of this key word »Iron Age« suggests that in the highlands of the Yemen there was another, unknown culture during the 1st millennium B.C. But at least politically speaking this seems doubtful: The inscriptions familiar from the highlands and in general the historic information from Ancient South Arabian inscriptions show clearly that this region too was under the dominion of various caravan kingdoms¹¹, whose names are indeed known and on the whole possessed the same culture. Of course there are differences in the material characteristics of the various regions, but they also have many things in common¹². The differences recorded so far, in my opinion, have their origins in local circumstances such as climatic and geographic deviations¹³, but are not an expression of differing cultures. The material common features in combination with the historic information derived from inscriptions, make it extremely difficult to separate the South Arabian highlands completely from the caravan kingdoms as far as their cultural history is concerned¹⁴. The use of the term »Iron Age« becomes even more confusing because it does not apply generally to all Iron Age cultures in South Arabia. Instead, the historically better-known Iron Age culture of Himyar is described as the »Himyarite Time« in contrast to the »Iron Age« of the 1st millennium B.C. The change of one age to the other is set at the start of the Himyarite calendar around 110 B.C. On the other hand, the last ancient era of South-West Arabia ends with the beginning of Islam¹⁵.

The following is intended to show on the one hand that, with the complete takeover of power by the Himyars (king Shammar Yuhar'ish) over the whole of South Arabia at the end of the 3rd century A.D.¹⁶, there was also a distinct change in the material features of the culture, and on the other hand that the characteristics of the material culture during the »age of the fighting kingdoms« are not only typical for the new rising powers in the highlands of Yemen, but are also carried by the old

the 7th century B.C. Compare finally N. Nebes, *Der große Tatenbericht des Karib'il Watar in Širwāh*, in: *Munich Catalogue 66 ff.* Other inscriptions in the highlands themselves confirm this: cf. e.g. RES 3858 (Jabal al-'Awd): N. Rhodanakis, *Katabanische Texte zur Bodenwirtschaft* (2. Folge) SBWien 198, 1922, 41 ff. Regarding the dominion of the caravan kingdoms in the highlands of the Yemen during the 1st millennium B.C. compare also J.-F. Breton, *L'Arabie heureuse au temps de la reine de Saba. VIII^e-I^{er} siècles avant J.-C.* (1998) 199 ff. or R. D. Tindal, *The Rise of the Himyar and the Origins of Modern Yemen*, in: N. Nebes (ed.), *Arabia Felix. Beiträge zur Sprache und Kultur des vorislamischen Arabien. Festschrift W. W. Müller* (1994) 275.

¹² Differences are emphasized particularly in the production of ceramics, but likewise also the features that they have in common with the ceramics of the caravan kingdoms are described (T. J. Wilkinson - C. Edens - M. Gibson, *The Archaeology of the Yemen High Plains: A Preliminary Chronology*, AAE 8, 1997, 130). Furthermore, according to the latest research results a clear break or rather an obvious change in the production of ceramics around 100 B.C. (ibidem) seems recognisable only to a certain extent (T. J. Wilkinson - C. Edens, *Survey and Excavation in the Central Highlands of Yemen: Results of the Dhamār Survey Project*, 1996 and 1998, AAE 10, 1999, 8).

¹³ Obvious differences that one can see, e.g. E. Barbanes, *Domestic and Defensive Architecture on the Yemen Plateau*, AAE 11, 2000, 212 f. such as in the town walls of the Sabaeans in the region at the periphery of the desert and those of the highlands, can be explained by the completely differing climatic and geological conditions. However the different types of outcrops have a not inconsiderable influence on the possibilities in the design of architecture.

¹⁴ As far as I know there is, in particular from an art-historic point of view, - a much clearer piece of evidence of cultural identity as e.g. ceramics - no material group that contrasts iconographically or iconologically against that of the desert periphery regions. So the numerous representations of bulls and ibexes therefore indicate a common cultural horizon.

¹⁵ The use of differently rating termini appears to me to be methodically problematic (Iron Age: archaeological/material in contrast to the Himyarite Age: political/historical) in a chronological system. Likewise, in my opinion a designation as »Himyarite« for a period of 700 years, from 110 B.C. to the beginning of Islam can convince neither for historical nor for culturally historical (see below) reasons. Also the central highlands of South Arabia were dominated by various powers up to the final Himyarite dominance around 300 A.D. Apart from Himyar and Saba here numerous smaller highland dynasties play a role. A rough division into two parts of the historic South Arabian age, such as perhaps Ch. Robin (Vienna Catalogue 74 f.) proposed, refers to basic social changes, but less to a change of political actors.

¹⁶ Cf. e.g. W. W. Müller, *Survey of the History of the Arabian Peninsula from the First Century A.D. to the Rise of Islam*, in: *Studies in the History of Arabia II. Pre-Islamic Arabia. Proceedings of the Second International Symposium on Studies in the History of Arabia*, 13th-19th April 1979 (1984) 127.

¹¹ The existence of indigenous, i.e. not ancient South Arabian, sections of the population during the 1st millennium B.C. cannot be proved for the southern highlands. On the other hand there are reports by Karib'il Watar (Gl 1000A) that large areas of the highlands of South Arabia fell under Sabaeen or Qatabanian rule at the latest at the beginning of

caravan kingdoms on the edge of the *Ramlat as-Sab'atayn* who were losing power and were dissolving.

The most important archaeological facts about the »age of the fighting kingdoms« are being provided in the highlands of Yemen by research intensified in particular most recently in the region of Dhamār¹⁷, the excavations on the Jabal al-'Awd¹⁸ and on the Jabal Ḥajjāj¹⁹, both in the region of the Wadi Banā, in Kharibat al-Aḥjār²⁰, to the east of Dhamār, and in Sha'ūb at Sana'a²¹. In the area of the *Ramlat as-Sab'atayn* the excavations in Timna²², Shabwa²³ and Hajar am-Dhaybiyya in the Wadi Dura²⁴ are particularly significant. The results of the excavations of the ports of Qāni²⁵ and Khor Rori²⁶, which were just flourishing during that era, should subsequently not play a great role although they, as well as the other, partly not yet localised ports of Aden, Ocelis and Musa are indirectly an important cause of the extreme change in the South Arabian society, which commences towards the end of the 1st millennium B.C.

ARCHITECTURE

Beginning with the architecture, there is here the least evidence of drastic changes compared with the age of the caravan kingdoms. On the one hand this may be connected with the low number of known monuments of this period, but on the other hand also with an only slow change. It is noticeable that the individual regions have maintained special characteristics in their building constructions which are closely connected with the building materials available locally. In Shabwa and in the Hajar am-Dhaybiyya²⁷ there are numerous half-timbered constructions. In Timna' they often continue to use granite²⁸, which is only very difficult to process, and in the highlands, e.g. on the Jabal al-'Awd, they used the only coarsely hewn volcanic rock of

von Ibb, in: B. Vogt • I. Gerlach – H. Hitgen, Die Erforschung Altsüdarabiens. Das Deutsche Archäologische Institut Sana'a auf den Spuren des Sabäerherrschers Karib'il Watar, NBA 15, 1998/99, 144 ff.; idem, Jabal al-'Awd: Ein Fundplatz der Spätzeit im Hochland des Jemen, in: Munich Catalogue 247 ff.

¹⁹ The excavation on the Jabal Ḥajjāj is a project by the Yemenite Antiquity Authorities GOAM under the direction of Ahmed Shamsan. Up to now two campaigns have been carried out in the early Himyaritic settlement that lies to the north of the Wadi Banā only a few kilometres away from the Himyaritic capital Ḥaḥār.

²⁰ A. de Maigret, IsMEO Archaeological Activities in the Yemen Arab Republic, 1985, EW 35, 1985, 355 ff.; idem, 1986, EW 36, 1986, 377 ff. – Cf. also S. Antonini, Oggetti d'importazione dalle tombe di Kharabat al-Aḥjār (Dhamār), Yemen 1, 1992, 3 ff.

²¹ B. Vogt – I. Gerlach, Bericht über die Notgrabungen im Friedhof Ša'ūb (Sana'a), in: ABADY 9 (2002) 189 ff.

²² Before the recently begun excavations by de Maigret in Timna' some already early archaeological research was carried out there which, however, had far too little been published. Cf. G. W. van Beek, Recovering the Ancient Civilization of Arabia, The Biblical Archaeologist 15, 1952, 2 ff.; R. L. Cleveland, An Ancient South Arabian Necropolis. Objects from the Second Campaign (1951) in Timna' Cemetery, PAFSM IV (1965); cf. also, however, e.g. J.-F. Breton et al., Le grand monument de Tamna' (Yémen): Architecture et identification, Syria 74, 1997, 33 ff. and recently summarizing W. D. Glanzman, Tamna': Glanz und Untergang einer Hauptstadt, in: Munich Catalogue 189 ff.

²³ See in particular the series of publications Fouilles de Shabwa I–III: J. Pirenne, Les témoins écrits de la région de Shabwa et l'histoire (1990); J.-F. Breton (ed.), Shabwa. Rapports préliminaires (1991); idem (ed.), Architecture et techniques de construction (1998).

²⁴ J.-F. Breton – M. A. Bāfāqih, Trésors du Wādī Dura' (République du Yémen): Fouille franco – yéménite de la nécropole de Hajar am-Dhaybiyya (1993); J.-F. Breton – A. McMahon – D. Warburton, Two Seasons at Hajar am-Dhaybiyya (Yemen), AAE 9, 1998, 90 ff.

²⁵ A. V. Sedov, Der Hafen von Qāni' – Das Tor zum Jemen in frühnachchristlicher Zeit, in: Vienna Catalogue 273 ff. with further literature.

²⁶ F. P. Albright, The American Archaeological Expedition in Dhofar, Oman, 1952–1953, PAFSM VI (1982); note the latest works by the University of Pisa: A. Avanzini, La Missione Italiana nel Dhofar, Egitto e vicino Oriente 19, 1996, 181 ff.; A. Avanzini – R. Orzi, The Construction Phases of Khor Rori's Monumental Gate, AAE 12, 2001, 249 ff.

²⁷ Whereas the half-timbered buildings in Shabwa mostly only have a limestone foundation (e.g. J.-F. Breton, L'Arabie heureuse au temps de la reine de Saba. VIII^e–I^{re} siècles avant J.-C. [1998] 106), in Hajar am-Dhaybiyya there is the half-timbered superstructure made of wood and clay brick on a granite foundation (Breton – McMahon – Warburton op. cit. 94 ff.).

²⁸ Granite is used, e.g. in Timna' and Hajar am-Dhaybiyya (ibidem 94 f.).

¹⁷ T. J. Wilkinson – C. Edens, Survey and Excavation in the Central Highlands of Yemen: Results of the Dhamār Survey Project, 1996 and 1998, AAE 10, 1999, 1 ff. with further literature in note 1; cf. also Barbanes op. cit. 207 ff.

¹⁸ B. Vogt, Ein Schatzfund und seine unabsehbaren Folgen – Alpinarchäologische Forschungen auf dem Jabal al-'Awd, Jemen Report 30/1, 1999, 5 ff.; H. Hitgen, Jabal al-'Awd – Ein qatabanisch-himyaritischer Fundplatz in den Bergen

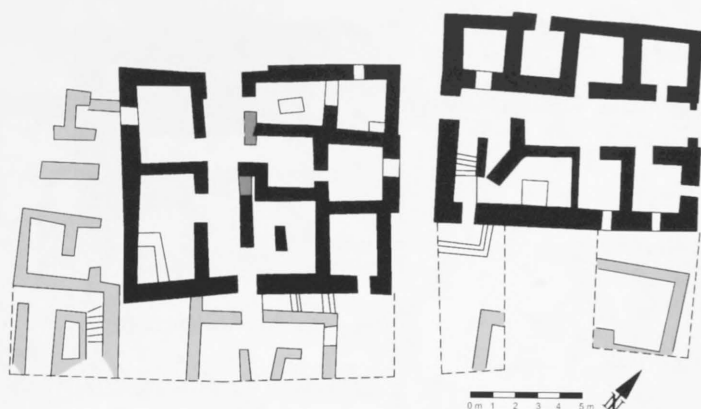


Fig. 1 Jabal al-'Awd, building 1 and 2, area 3

that area²⁹. Even the more simple houses were several storeys high³⁰. It seems that it was customary to use the ground floor for household purposes, e.g. it accommodated storage rooms, kitchen, utility and partly sanitary facilities, whereas the upper floor or floors were reserved for living only³¹. It appears to be a typical feature that the utility rooms were grouped around central corridors which formed the entrance area. These can divide the ground plan of the building either lengthwise or crosswise. There are examples of both possibilities on the Jabal al-'Awd (Fig. 1). Examples of a corresponding layout can be found in numerous sites in South Arabia, not only in the highlands but also in the regions on the periphery of the desert, e.g. in Timna', Wadi Dura' and Shabwa³² (Fig. 2). However this division principle is not an innovation of that time, as it could already be found in the 8th century B.C. as for example in »House A« in Yalā³³ (Fig. 3).

If we look on the other hand at more elaborately designed building and representation constructions, distinct reforms meet the eye. More intensely from the 1st century B.C. onwards, these buildings have large courtyards in front of them, surrounded by arcades. These form the entrance areas at the same time and also are regarded, at least partly, as public areas. In the classical period there is only one forerunner to date which corresponds to this construction principle, the Bar'an Temple of Marib (Fig. 4) in its extension phase dating from the 5th century B.C.³⁴. In this period of time it is a singular phenomenon. In the »age of the fighting

kingdoms«, however, we can find this type of building spread over the whole of South-West Arabia.

²⁹ On the Jabal al-'Awd e.g. the majority of the buildings, especially residential and purpose-built constructions, is built of local volcanic outcrops. Only a temple and a monumental, representative complex of buildings provide evidence of carefully cut limestone blocks and other building materials that presumably had to be transported to the site with great difficulty. Similar features seem to apply also to the other sites in the South Arabian highlands.

³⁰ With regard to the desert periphery regions Breton, in: J.-F. Breton, *L'architecture domestique en Arabie méridionale du VII^e siècle avant au IV^e siècle après*, Diss. Paris 1 (1997) 164 ff., treats buildings with several storeys in great detail. For the highlands cf. e.g. H. Hütgen, *Jabal al-'Awd – Ein Fundplatz der Spätzeit im Jemen*, in: *Munich Catalogue* 250.

³¹ E.g. *ibidem* 249 f.

³² As examples for Timna' the houses B (Yafash) and C (J.-F. Breton et al. op.cit. 33 ff.) can be mentioned, for Hajar am-Dhaybiyya the »Maison principale« (Breton–McMahon–Warburton op.cit. 94 ff.) as well as for Shabwa e.g. »Building 72« (J.-F. Breton, *Les bâtiments 72 et 73*, in: J.-F. Breton [ed.], *Fouilles de Shabwa III* [1998] 39 ff.).

³³ A. de Maigret – C. Robin, *Les fouilles italiennes de Yalā (Yémen du Nord): nouvelles données sur la chronologie de l'Arabie du Sud préislamiques*, CRAIBL 1989, 278 ff.

³⁴ B. Vogt, *Der Almaqah-Tempel von Bar'an ('Arsh Bilqis)*, in: *Vienna Catalogue* 219 ff.; B. Vogt – W. Herberg – N. Röring, »Arsh Bilqis« – *Der Tempel des Almaqah von Bar'an in Marib* (2000); J. Schmidt, *Tempel und Heiligtümer in Südarabien. Zu den materiellen und formalen Strukturen der Sakralbaukunst*, NBA 14, 1997/98, 20 ff. – The temple building in al-Hāmid (1st half of the 2nd century B.C.) appears to have a similar layout. The courtyard and gallery area surrounding the central building are not illustrated in the literature that has been published so far. Cf. C. Phillips, *Al-Hāmid: a Route to the Red Sea?*, in: A. Avanzini (ed.), *Profumi d'Arabia. Atti del Convegno* (1997) 289 f.

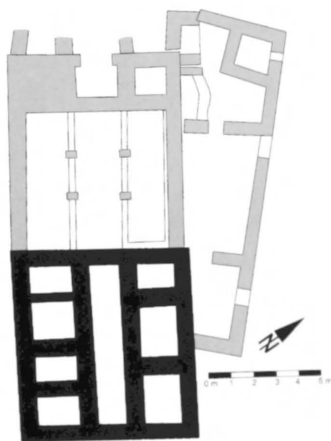


Fig. 2 a Timna', house B

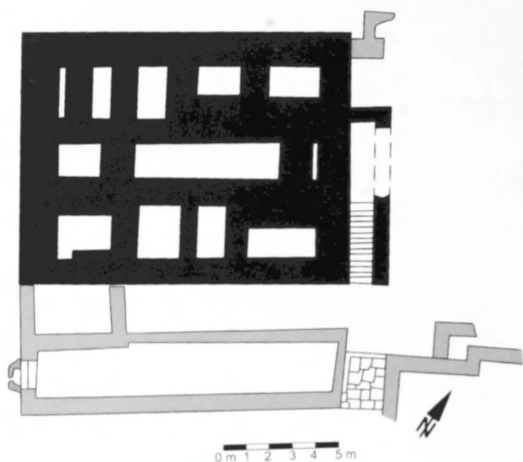


Fig. 2 b Timna', house C

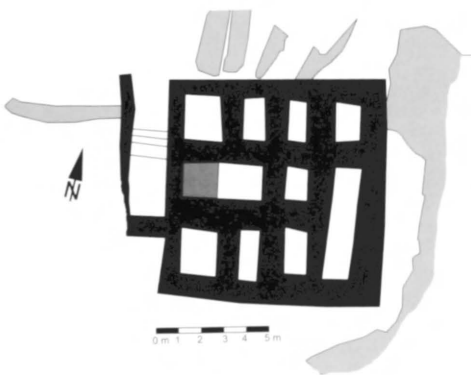


Fig. 2 c Am-Dhaybiyya (Wadi Dura'),
'maison principale'

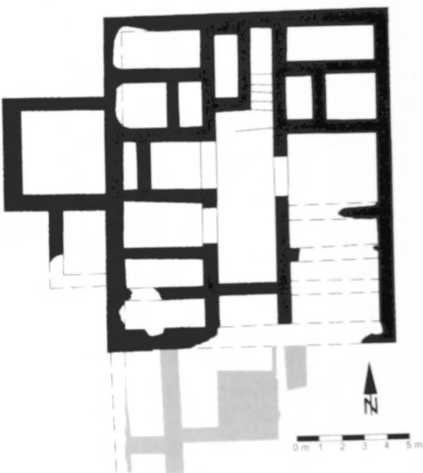


Fig. 2 d Shabwa, building 72



Fig. 3 Yalā, house A

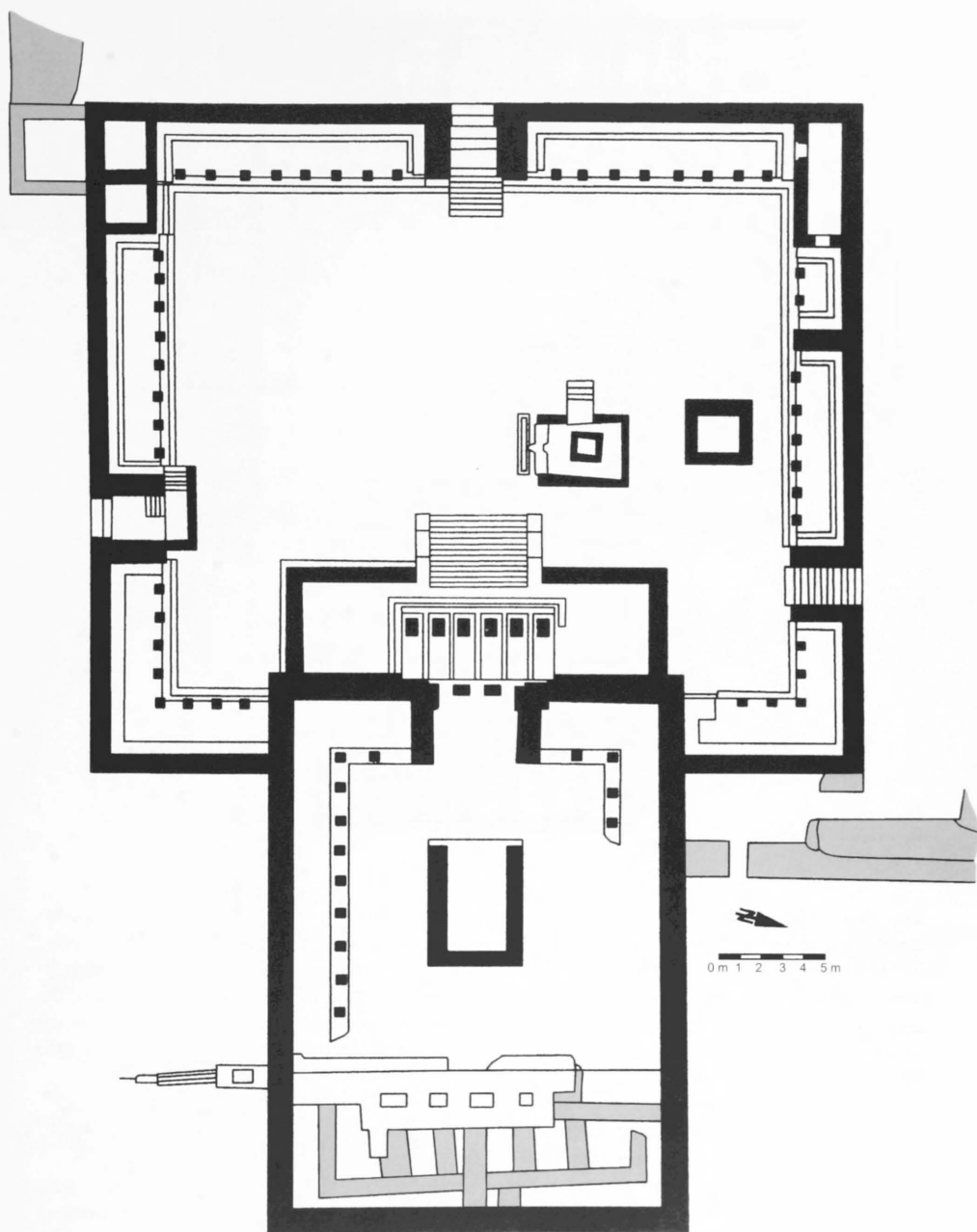


Fig. 4 Marib, temple of Bar'an

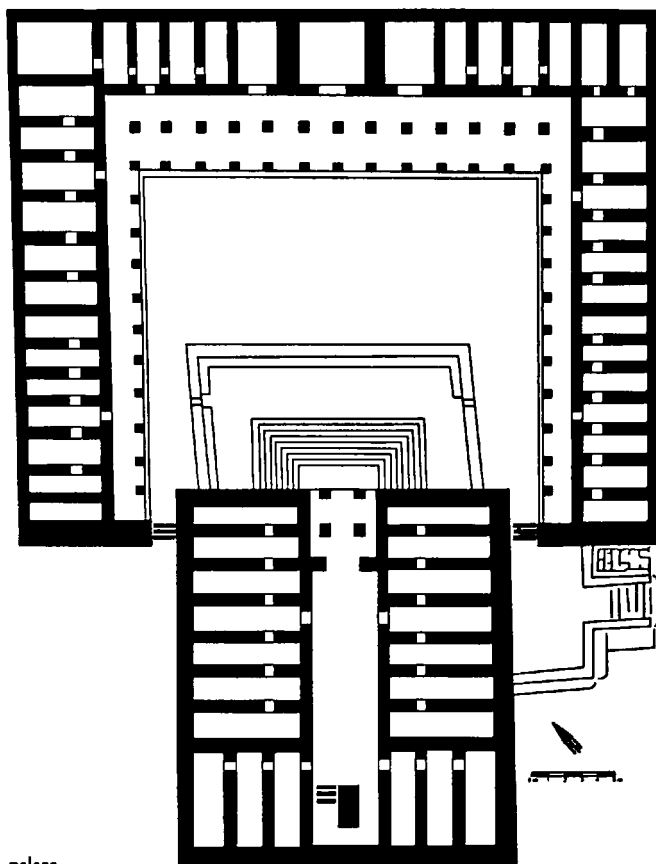


Fig. 5 Shabwa, palace

The royal palace in Shabwa³⁵ (Fig. 5) is built according to this design principle and likewise the »TTI« in Timna' (Fig. 6), a building whose function is still controversial to this day³⁶. There the building, the origins of which date back to the 8th century B.C.³⁷, was augmented considerably later by a courtyard surrounded by an arcade, the whole of which formed the entrance area. A further building with corresponding layout which dates not earlier than late 2nd century B.C. is currently being excavated in Širwāḥ. This is suspected to be – as, amongst others, one inscription suggests – an administrative building³⁸ (Fig. 7). The sanctuary of Huqqa³⁹ dating from 1st century B.C. or the 1st century A.D. in the highlands of Sana'a shows that this type of construction was also used for temples. But not only official buildings were constructed

according to this arrangement but also other buildings that could be most likely described as prestigious residences. This applies both to the highlands of Yemen as well as to the core area of the caravan kingdoms. Examples can be found in the representation building (Area 1, House 1) on the

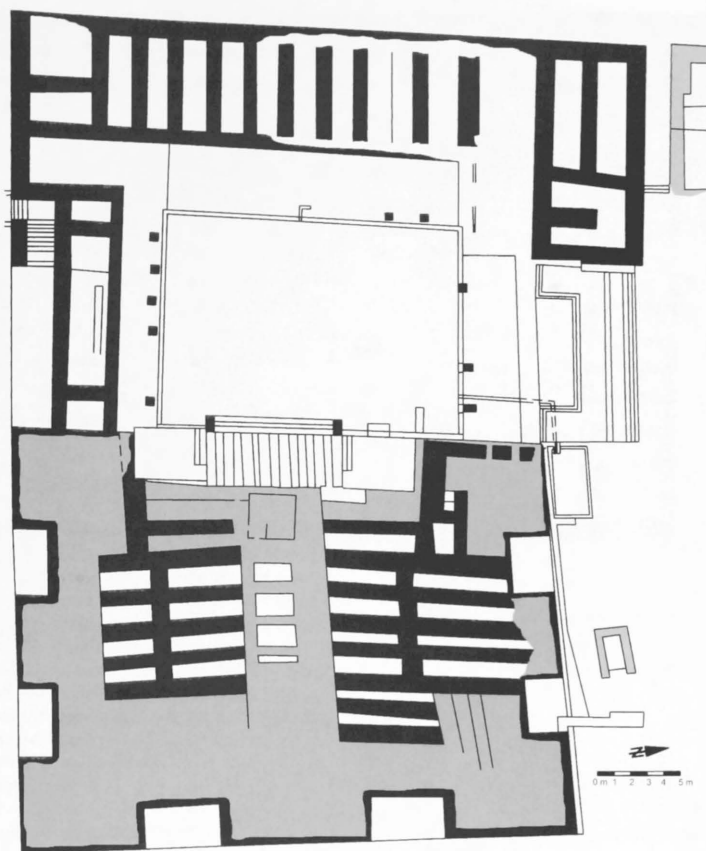
³⁵ J. Seigne, *Le château royal de Shabwa. Le bâtiment, architecture, techniques de construction et restitutions*, in: J.-F. Breton (ed.), *Fouilles de Shabwa II* (1991) 111 ff.

³⁶ Cf. last J.-F. Breton et al., *Syria* 74, 1997, 33 ff. on the present status of discussion accompanied by further literature.

³⁷ G.W. van Beek, *The Biblical Archaeologist* 15, 1952, 2 ff. Also see Breton et al. op.cit. 33 ff.

³⁸ Personal comment by N. Nebes (Jena).

³⁹ C. Rathjens – H. von Wissmann, Rathjens – v. Wissmannsche Südarabienreise II. *Vorislamische Altertümer* (1932) 27 ff.

Fig. 6 Timna⁴, building TT1

Jabal al-‘Awd⁴⁰ (Fig. 8), in which only part of the building has been excavated so far, on the Jabal Ḥajjāj and in the »Building 74« (Fig. 9) about in the centre of Shabwa⁴¹. All these last-mentioned buildings date back to the first centuries A.D.

Apart from the appearance of the type of room known as an »arcade-surrounded courtyard« in particular the decoration of the buildings change drastically. Whereas before a canonical application of kinds of decoration which were restricted to very few types, was typical for the decoration of the buildings, the decoration possibilities in building constructions suddenly multiply. Apart from the decoration elements which were obligatory for nearly all buildings, such as the ibex and antelope friezes, we find, for example, figured reliefs and

wall paintings such as on the courtyard pillars and balustrades in the palace of Shabwa⁴², wine creeper friezes or even purely ornamental rhombus-shaped inlay work for the wall panelling at the Jabal al-‘Awd and on the Jabal Ḥajjāj. But the innovation most noticeable visually is the gradual abandonment of pillars, rectangular in cross-section, with their linear shaped capitals. In particular in the building of courtyards octagonal or multi-faceted

⁴⁰ Hitgen, *op. cit.* 249 f.

⁴¹ J.-F. Breton, *Le bâtiment 74*, in: J.-F. Breton (ed.), *Fouilles de Shabwa III* (1998) 49 ff.

⁴² On the artistic design of the palace cf. R. Audouin, *Sculptures et peintures du château royal de Shabwa*, in: *ibidem* II (1991) 209 ff.

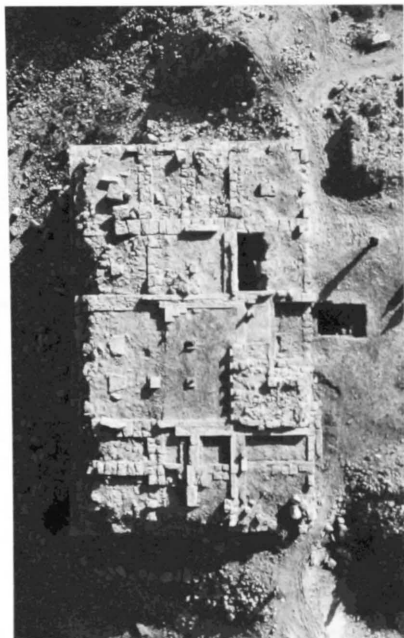


Fig. 7 Şirwāh, 'administrative building'

columns were already used in the 1st century B.C. They especially liked to experiment with the capitals using the most varying shapes, ranging from very different ornamental designs to leaf-ornamented capitals⁴³. Altogether the building decorations of that time are characterised by their enormous variety and therefore give each building its own individual appearance which was not achievable with the obligatory use of a limited range of shapes as was the practise before.

BURIAL CUSTOMS

Let us now turn to an area of South Arabian culture during the »age of the fighting kingdoms« which is better documented⁴⁴: First there is a great diversity in the burial customs of that age, whereby even on the sites which lie geographically near to each other, quite different practices become apparent. It is easiest to describe what is not apparent in South Arabia, i.e. the cremation of the deceased. Otherwise nearly everything is recorded.

It is true that also the 1st millennium B.C. shows evidence of a broad range of differing burial rites, but all these involve multiple or collective burials. Whether we are talking about the cave burial chambers in Shibām al-Ghirās⁴⁵, different types of cave-tombs in Raybūn⁴⁶ and in Ḥurayḍa⁴⁷ or the mausoleum-type of burial chambers on the Awām cemetery in Marib⁴⁸ and on the cemetery in Timna⁴⁹. The chambers are always designed for a larger number of deceased persons.

Beginning with the 1st century B.C. this changes abruptly. From this point in time onwards there were mainly only individual burials in South-West Arabia⁵⁰. Although these often differ in their form, this can best be explained by the different geological or geomorphological conditions in which the burials were made⁵¹. The basic character is similar

⁴³ The column or the already slightly faceted pillar was introduced into the architectural features of South Arabia at the latest around the time of the beginning of our era. An example of these is the architectural design of the sanctuary of Huqqa (Rathjens – von Wissmann op.cit. 27 ff.). Also faceted pillars from the Jabal al-'Awd are dated to the beginning of our era. However, there is not yet any certain typology both for the shape of the columns and for the shape and decorations of the capitals. A large proportion of the objects of this kind known today falls with great probability in the Himyarite age. From an art-historical point of view an examination should be made as to whether in particular the shape of the capitals is comparable with late ancient and early Byzantine pieces, therefore making a dating possible.

⁴⁴ The best general observation on the South Arabian tombs is offered by B. Vogt – A. de Maigret, *Tod und Jenseits im antiken Südarabien*, in: Munich Catalogue 170 ff.

⁴⁵ M. Basalama, *Die Mumien von Shibām-al-Ghirās*, in: Vienna Catalogue 252 f.

⁴⁶ A. V. Sedov, *Die archäologischen Denkmäler von Raybūn im unteren Wādī Dau'an, Mare Erythraeum 1*, 1997, 39 ff.

⁴⁷ G. Caton Thompson, *The Tombs and Moon Temple of Hureidha (Hadhrumaut)*. Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London 13 (1944) 65 ff.

⁴⁸ I. Gerlach, *Der Friedhof des Awām-Tempels in Marib*. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen von 1997 bis 2000, in: *ABADY 9* (2002) 41 ff.

⁴⁹ G. W. van Beek, *The Biblical Archaeologist* 15, 1952, 13 f.; R. L. Cleveland, *An Ancient South Arabian Necropolis. Objects from the Second Campaign (1951) in the Timna' Cemetery*, *PAFSM 4* (1965) 173 ff.

⁵⁰ According to Vogt – de Maigret op.cit. 177 the first individual burials occurred in South Arabia as early as the 3rd century B.C.

⁵¹ B. Vogt – I. Gerlach, *Bericht über die Notgrabungen im Friedhof von Ša'ūb (Sana'a)*, in: *ABADY 9* (2002) 196.

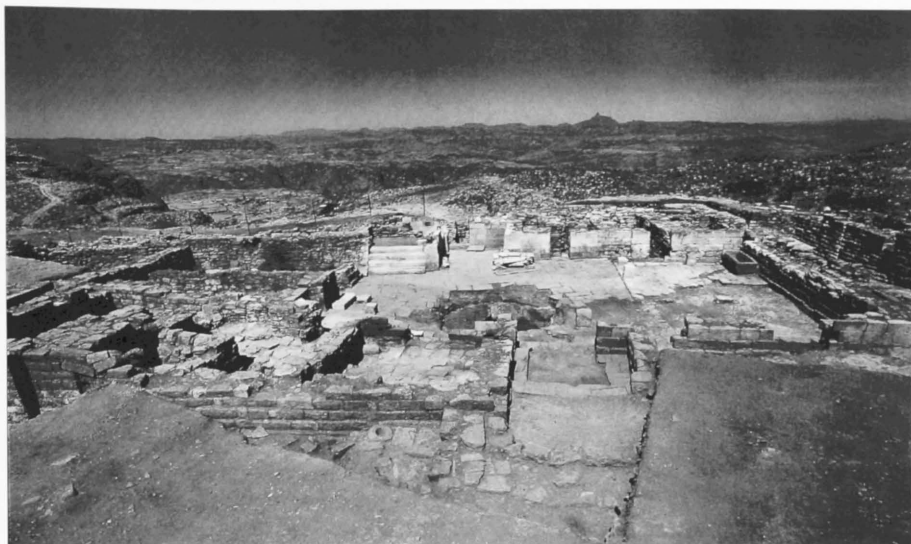


Fig. 8 Jabal al-'Awd, building 1, area 1

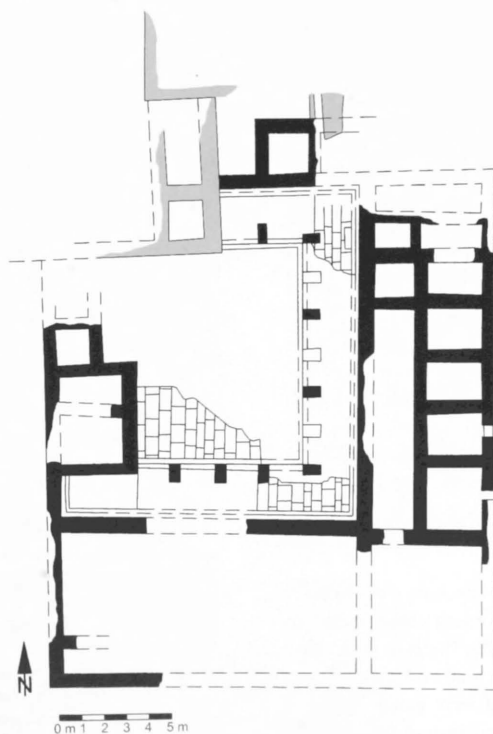


Fig. 9 Shabwa, building 74

in all these tombs. This applies both to the many burials in the highlands as well as to the tombs in the regions on the periphery of the desert. To see a connection between this change in burial rites in the desert and nomadic sections of the population in this region, as already suggested⁵², does not seem to be important to me. From Shuka' simple rectangular burial pits⁵³ are known which were hewn in the soft rocks and were covered over with stone slabs. Similar tombs can be found in the necropolis of Jabal Ḥajjāj. However some of these constructions also have a small chamber hewn into the rock which can only be reached via the pit. Well comparable tombs have only just been discovered recently in the Himyarite capital Ṣafār, which for the time being are dated at the 1st–2nd century A.D.⁵⁴. On the other hand simple burial shafts hewn into the soft, volcanic rock (tuff) for individual burials (?) can be found, e.g. in Ṣirḥa, likewise near to Yarīm⁵⁵. On the cemetery of Sha'ūb on the high plateau of Sana'a the burials were dug in the wadi gravel and in the sediment layers⁵⁶. Here two construction methods can be differentiated at the same place and the same time: The most modest tombs are simple graves dug in the ground that were probably covered over with mud bricks (Fig. 10). The stone box tombs are more elaborate. Here the side panels and the covers were made of limestone slabs (Fig. 11). In one of these tombs a red painted wooden coffin was also found⁵⁷. The bodies in these tombs were preserved by a kind of mummification. In the stomach and around the whole body there were the remains of organic plants which were used to accelerate the drying process. The deceased were also wrapped in fabric and finally bound up with leather⁵⁸. The bodies in the simple burial pits had not been lavished upon with such elaborate treatment. All that was left of them was mere the shade of the nearly totally decayed body. Generally mummification seems to represent a special type of burial which was otherwise only known from the cave burial sites such as those in Shibām al-Ghirās⁵⁹.

Conspicuous about the burial sites in Sha'ūb is that there is no standard position of the bodies, an observation which is usually the case with other well-known burial sites. All tombs have in common, however, that the deceased were buried stretched out on their backs. This phenomenon can be seen in the individual tombs of the Wadi Ḍura⁶⁰ (Fig. 12)

and in the last individual burials in Raybūn⁶¹ (Fig. 13) just as in those sites where we continue to find collective burials. This applies, for example, to the hypogean tombs of Kharibat al-Aḥjār⁶² (Fig. 14). In the case of the burials in Ḥayd bin 'Aqīl, which date at least up to the 1st century A.D.⁶³ and therefore continue the traditions of the past age, this cannot be clarified due to their poor state of preservation. However, the shape of the tomb loculi in which the deceased lay, leads us to the same conclusion.

The deceased were also buried on the Jabal al-'Awd in a stretched out position. Here a kind of collective burial has developed which up to now is unique for South-West Arabia (Fig. 15). Contrary to the custom, the burial places can be found directly in the houses and not outside of the settlement. In almost every house which was examined up to now there is at least one room where the dead were buried under the floor. The dead lay close by one another, sometimes even piled on top of each other. Here too there is no evidence of a particular position. Significant of the location is rather the

⁵² Vgl. J.-F. Breton, *L'Arabie heureuse au temps de la reine de Saba. VIII^e–I^{re} siècles avant J.-C.* (1998) 194. 196 f. – Individual burials must be explained differently as they are to be found in the two large regions of South Arabia, the desert periphery areas and the highlands. However, phenomena such as e.g. the re-occupation of old mausoleums and cave tombs and the occurrence of so-called eye steles (ibidem) demonstrate the influence of nomadic peoples on the burial cult. As far as I know these phenomena are, however, limited to the desert periphery areas.

⁵³ Vogt – de Maigret op. cit. 176 f. 180.

⁵⁴ Personal report by the excavator P. Yule.

⁵⁵ R. W. Haddon, *The Sirḥah Tombs*, PSAS 25, 1995, 153 ff.

⁵⁶ Vogt – Gerlach op. cit. 189 ff.

⁵⁷ Ibidem 203 f.

⁵⁸ Ibidem 198 f.

⁵⁹ M. Basalama, *Die Mumien von Shibām-al-Ghirās*, in: *Vienna Catalogue* 252 f.

⁶⁰ R. Audouin, *La fouille de sauvetage de 'Umm-Hunayka*, in: J.-F. Breton – M. A. Bāfaḥh, *Trésors du Wādī Ḍura' (République du Yémen) Fouille franco-yéménite de la nécropole de Hajar am-Dhaybiyya* (1993) 15 ff.

⁶¹ A. V. Sedov, *Mare Erythraeum* 1, 1997, 39 ff.

⁶² A. de Maigret, *IsMEO Archaeological Activities in the Yemen Arab Republic*, 1985, EW 35, 1985, 355 ff.; idem, 1986, EW 36, 1986, 377 ff.

⁶³ W. D. Glanzman, *Ḥayd Ibn 'Aqīl – der Friedhof von Tamna'*, in: *Munich Catalogue* 192. If one follows the dating result of the latest Italian research projects in Timna', then it seems that the town was not abandoned until the 2nd century A.D. A usage of the cemetery also up to this time is probable.

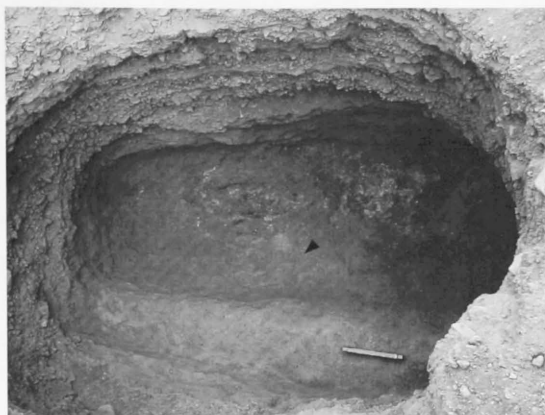


Fig. 10 Sha'ûb, pit tomb Sha 11



Fig. 11 Sha'ûb, stone cist tomb Sha 6

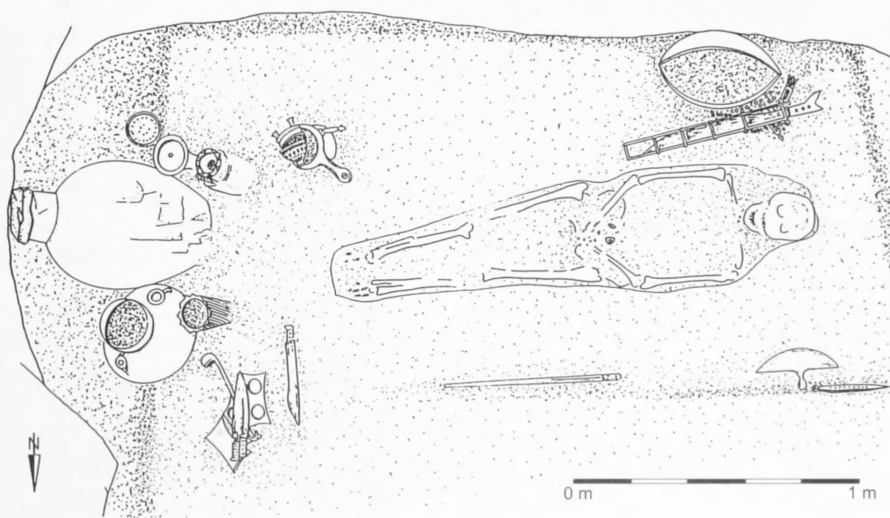


Fig. 12 Wadi Dura', tomb 3

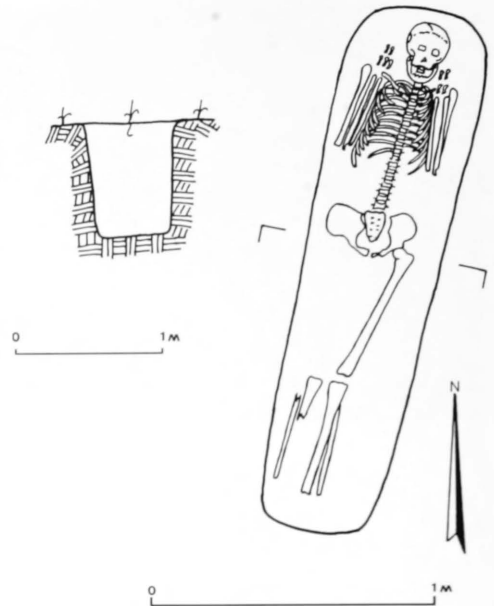


Fig. 13 Raybūn, cemetery XVII, burial 16

type of architecture and the efforts at making the best possible use of the space available. In the case of one corpse, the remains of a wooden coffin are even recognisable, but this is a singular phenomenon so far⁶⁴.

If we look again comprehensively at the burial rites at the times of the »fighting kingdoms«, our attention is drawn in particular to the great number of different types of burials practised which differentiate almost every burial site from the others. At the same time, however, the increasing number of individual burials, each with local characteristics, is immense. At the latest from the time of the beginning of our era onwards, the single tomb is the most widespread form of burial in South Arabia.

Also in the custom of burial gifts there are obvious changes in comparison to the previous ages. Although at the Awām cemetery in Marib and in earlier burials in Ḥayd bin 'Aqīl burial gifts dominate which correspond to a standardised, very restricted type of finds⁶⁵, the kind of objects that were now placed in the tombs seem not to be sub-

jected to any fixed rules. Whereas in Marib and Timna' apart from costume accessories the burial gifts consist mainly of objects which were produced directly for the burial, the objects now have a direct connection with the deceased him-/herself⁶⁶. It is true that there were also pieces, i.e. especially ceramic items, that must be regarded in connection with the cult of the dead, but the remaining objects have quite a different character.

⁶⁴ It was not possible to excavate this tomb completely so far so an exact clarification of this tomb find has not yet been accomplished.

⁶⁵ I. Gerlach in: ABADY 9 (2002) 54 ff. Cf. therefore the relatively limited repertoire of types in Timna': R. L. Cleveland, *An Ancient South Arabian Necropolis*. Objects from the Second Campaign (1951) in the Timna' Cemetery, PAFSM 4 (1965).

⁶⁶ This also applies e.g. to the *Ostraka* that were found in large quantities in the Awām cemetery and that individualized the deceased to a certain extent thanks to their engraved names (Gerlach op.cit. 57). However, these are burial gifts that were produced specially for the burial and certainly do not originate from the possessions of the deceased.

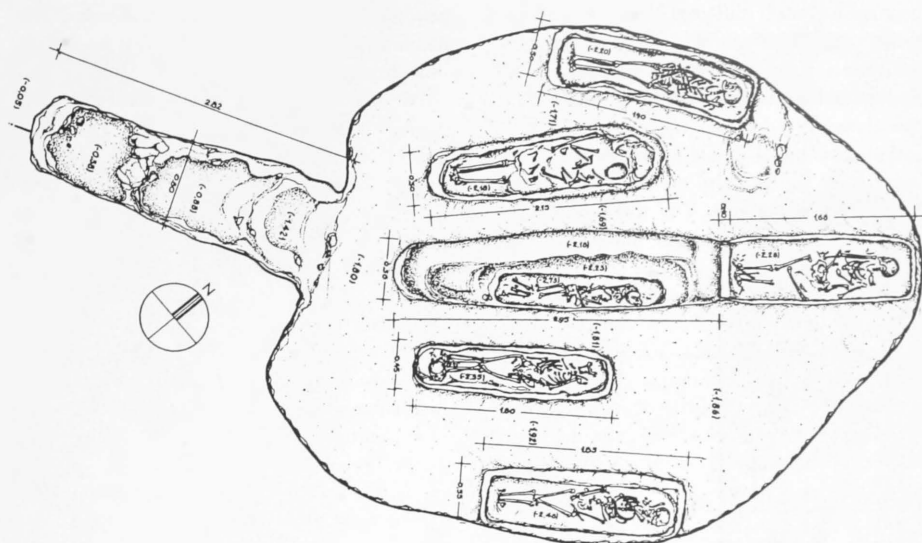


Fig. 14 Kharibat al-Ahjār, T 2



Fig. 15 Jabal al-'Awd, collective burial

There are e.g. many different kinds of weapons, jewellery, personal amulets, mirrors, imported glass vessels and costly pottery⁶⁷. These objects originate with great probability from the private possessions of the deceased. A further sign of personal items as burial gifts is the signature on two objects from Tomb 3, the »Warrior's Tomb« in Wadi Dura' with the name Yafa' from the tribe of Taraf⁶⁸. This was most certainly the name of the dead person⁶⁹.

It is important to note the high degree of individualisation which is reflected in the new burial customs⁷⁰. The shape of the individual tomb alone makes this obvious as, contrary to collective burials, it marks a very clear spatial division from the other tombs and therefore from the other deceased. The personal character of the burial gifts underlines this impression.

ART PRODUCTION

A third aspect by which the reforms and development of the material culture at that time is said to be manifested, is the production of art. It becomes apparent that here the changes are shown at their most clearest. In this respect also the prevailing characteristics are designated by the terms »individuality« and »diversity«.

The use of such key words only makes sense if they are set in comparison to something else, in this case the preceding era. At the time of the caravan kingdoms art is characterised by traditions and in the broadest sense by standardised design⁷¹. The repertoire is almost completely restricted to religious subjects for which there are definite selling opportunities. Deviations and individual pieces do in fact occur but these are only exceptions. As already mentioned, ibex and antelope friezes are the most popular motifs. Included in the typical examples are still bulls, mostly with their heads used as water fountains, drainage pipes from sacrificial basins or as a protom on tomb steles, statuettes of seated women, almost round sculptured heads of men and women, all without exception from the tomb context, terracotta figurines of women and camels in only a few differing variations as well as architecture imitations and a few symbols depicting gods on altars and incense burners. With this short list the repertoire of this

period is already almost exhausted. Besides, these motifs were subjected to only slowly spreading stylistic changes over a period of several hundred years.

With the beginning of the 1st century B.C. the tradition of these images by no means breaks off. But on the one hand there is a considerably faster stylistic development to be seen and on the other hand the repertoire of images is being augmented and distinctly extended. In the following I would like to pick out only some few, but very prominent examples.

Around this time a new type of tomb relief appears which no longer includes static, symbolic shapes. We are now talking about reliefs with an narrative content. Depicted in one, sometimes even more pictures are farewell scenes and scenes which can be brought into direct connection with the deceased⁷². The pictures are often surrounded by framing columns or canopies as well as occasion-

⁶⁷ In the case of almost all the undisturbed or nearly undisturbed burials that fall in this period, burial gifts can be found that can be connected with the personal belongings of the deceased. These must not always appear in large number, as for example in the Wadi Dura', at the Jabal al-'Awd or as discovered recently during the excavations of the GOAM in Abyan. Yet it is remarkable that even in the less richly endowed tombs (e.g. Shuka', Sha'ib or Kharibat al-Ahjar) such objects belong to the repertoire of burial gifts.

⁶⁸ A signet ring and a dagger bear this inscription: Vienna Catalogue 360 f. no 381; p. 361 no. 382.

⁶⁹ Although other names were also found on the various objects from Tomb 3, it is indeed the signet ring that can be directly associated with the deceased. However, the same name can be found on a box in Tomb 2 (Vienna Catalogue 363 no 390) on the same site. In my opinion this indicates that despite the custom of individual burials a spatial proximity to family contexts was created. Cf. about the texts in conclusion: C. Robin - M. A. Bäfaqih, *Les inscriptions sur les objets*, in: Breton - Bäfaqih, op. cit. 75.

⁷⁰ Cf. also B. Vogt - A. de Maigret, *Tod und Jenseits im antiken Südarabien*, in: Munich Catalogue 182.

⁷¹ E.g. A. de Maigret, *Alcune considerazioni sulle origini e lo sviluppo dell'arte sudarabica*, in: N. Nebes (ed.), *Arabia Felix. Beiträge zur Sprache und Kultur des vorislamischen Arabien. Festschrift W. W. Müller* (1994) 142 ff.; I. Gerlach, *Zur Übernahme altorientalischer Motive in die Kunst Südarabiens. Eine reliefierte Bronzeplatte aus dem Jemen*, *BaM* 31, 2000, 262 f.

⁷² For general comments on corresponding tomb reliefs see: A. Grohmann, *Arabien, HAW. Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients III* 4 (1963) 225 ff.; J. Pirenne, *Notes d'archéologie sud-arabe IV. La déesse sur des reliefs sabéens*, *Syria* 42, 1965, 109 ff.; Vogt - de Maigret op. cit. 179 f.



Fig. 16 Tomb relief, Paris, Louvre AO 1029



Fig. 17 Shabwa, incense burner, London, British Museum ANE 1937-5-7,1



Fig. 18 Tan'im, relief, National Museum Sana'a, YM 386

ally with landscape details. The pictures are therefore bestowed with vividness and originality which must be explained as being produced at the request of the commissioner to create via the relief something individual which – even if symbolic – provides information on the deceased in question and his position in society. Some of the most beautiful variations include the so-called camel- or horse-riding warriors. A fine example is said to be the relief in the Louvre (AO 1029)⁷³, which in the upper part of the picture features the representation of a banquet which can be interpreted rather as cultic than profane, whereas in the lower part the deceased is depicted as a mounted warrior or possible a caravan driver (Fig. 16). Such a pictorial self-portrait can not only be found on tomb reliefs but also on offerings, such as an altar from Shabwa with a camel-rider (Fig. 17) now at the British Museum (WA 125682)⁷⁴. Instead of the depiction of sun and moon symbols and a framing architectural design

otherwise customary on incense burners, on this piece on the front one finds the relieved illustration of a camel-rider. The inscription «Adhlal, the son of the Wahab'il»⁷⁵ suggests that the camel-rider is in fact that donator Adhlal. Another example for a pictorial self-portrait might be a relief slab from Tan'im (Fig. 18), on which the warrior Tubba'⁷⁶ and his wife are depicted, who, as the inscription explains, dedicate their war spoils to the goddess Shams. Perhaps one should regard in a similar connection the numerous statuette dedications, which are apparent in this period but of which almost

⁷³ Y. Calvet – C. Robin, *Arabie heureuse, Arabie déserte. Les antiquités arabiques du Musée du Louvre, Notes et documents des musées de France* 31 (1997) 107 f. with detailed literature indications.

⁷⁴ Vienna Catalogue 86 no. 20.

⁷⁵ Ibidem 86 no. 20.

⁷⁶ Ibidem 86 no. 21.

always only base with the inscription remain intact⁷⁷.

It has already been pointed out rightly several times that the narrative tomb reliefs are influenced by East Mediterranean art traditions⁷⁸. This influence is, however, limited not only to this one case, but extends into large areas of the South-West Arabian artistic activity. The static pillars as supporting constructions in architecture gradually change to columns, their capitals and bases slowly give up their linear design features in favour of floral and decor ornaments of Mediterranean influence⁷⁹, the strong stylisation and the two-dimensional interpretation in the plastic representation of man and animals is lent more spatial depth and a »more naturalistic« design.

The strong Graeco-Roman influence on the South-West Arabian art production of that time can be clearly explained by the intensive sea trading contacts that connected both regions to a great extent at the latest from around the 1st century A.D. onwards⁸⁰. It is true that beforehand there were already contacts to there via the inner-Arabian incense route⁸¹, but the quality of the contact with maritime trade changed radically. Not only the quantity of the goods dealt with increased drastically, but also the contacts furthermore gained another quality⁸². Now the producers or their mediators no longer brought the goods to the buyers, but the buyers came direct and in large numbers to Southern Arabia. The Graeco-Roman traders and captains transported with them their own cultures and facilitated for a much larger number of people in the country a direct experience of foreign lands. However, the traders from the North transported not only goods but also brought new ideas with them.

These ideas must at least partly have fallen on fertile ground as otherwise it is hardly possible to explain the social developments that demonstrate distinct parallels to the Graeco-Roman world.

With the increasingly insecure political situation in the centres of the caravan kingdoms towards the end of the 1st century B.C., due on the one hand to the Arabian tribes who were continually penetrating further south and on the other to the massive losses in income as a result of the removal of the incense route from the inner Arabian desert to the Red Sea, the naturalness and the political power of the traditional form of society was then queried.

Correspondingly the new powers in the highlands, of which Himyar was only one of several at the beginning, tried to legitimise their claims by founding new forms of society and establishing new cults. At the same time the remaining caravan kingdoms were fighting for survival and for their new place in the region.

With Himyar and the new political units the cohesion does not arise from a communal cult but from the loyalty to a prince. Correspondingly the main point of attention in the material representation of the state now lies more strongly in the presentation of the ruler's domains such as that of the palaces. Inevitably a development process of this kind is accompanied by a stronger individualisation of the society which no longer refers to an »eternal« god but to a person, the King or his dynasty. Similar processes occurred previously with the emergence of the great Hellenistic king-

⁷⁷ It is noticeable that not only the dedicated objects (or their substitutes) are becoming more and more varied and more individual in their design, but also that in particular also the dedication inscriptions in the middle Sabaeen era, in contrast to their forerunners are becoming more and more detailed, more personal in their narration and more individual. The individual donating therefore gains in significance.

⁷⁸ E.g. Vogt – de Maigret op. cit. 179 f.

⁷⁹ The Mediterranean influence in architecture and architectural design was last interpreted in an extremely disparaging manner as a sign of the cultural deterioration of the actual »genuine« South Arabian art. Cf. J. Schmidt, NBA 14, 1997/98, 34 ff.

⁸⁰ With the downfall of the Minaean kingdom in the 1st century B.C. which up to then had mainly organized foreign trade over land, a re-organisation of trade became urgently required. Presumably an almost complete removal of trade from the land routes to the sea followed very quickly. The founding of the port of Qāni' in the early 1st century A.D. (e.g. A. V. Sedov, *Der Hafen von Qāni' – das Tor zum Jemen in frühnachchristlicher Zeit*, in: Vienna Catalogue 275 ff.) and Samhār (e.g. A. Avanzini, *Samhār [Khor Rori] – eine hadramitische Gründung im omanischen Dhoar*, in: Vienna Catalogue 280) in the late 1st century B.C. bear obvious witness to this. Cf. also L. Casson, *South Arabia's Maritime Trade in the First Century A.D.*, in: T. Fahd (ed.), *L'Arabie préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 24–27 juin 1987* (1989) 187 ff.

⁸¹ I. Gerlach, BaM 31, 2000, 263 ff.

⁸² Ibidem.

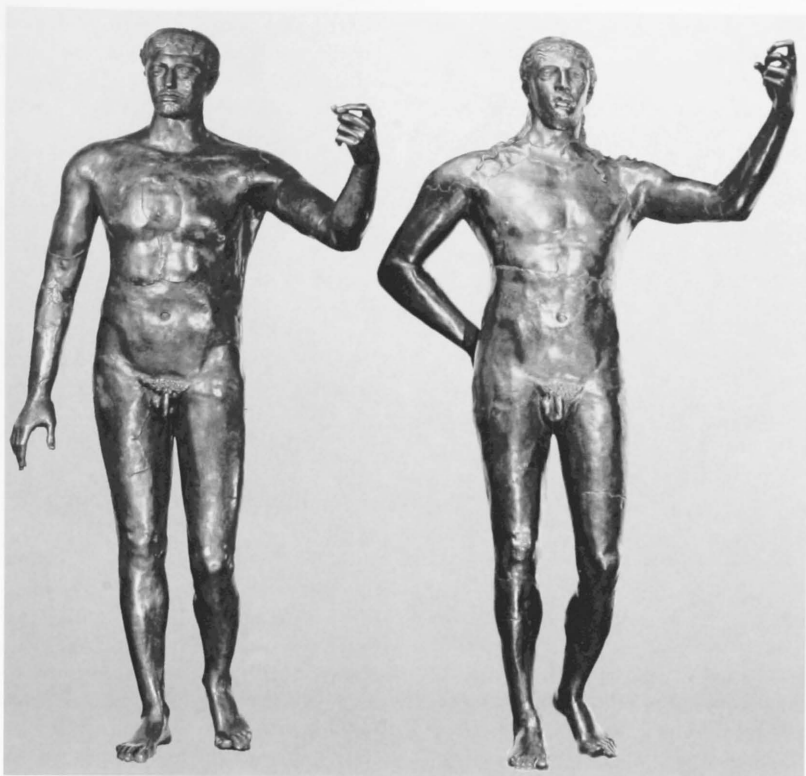


Fig. 19 Yaqla', copies of the bronze statues of Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr and Tha'rān, National Museum Sana'a

doms and with the beginning of the »Imperial Era« in the whole of the Roman Empire⁸³.

In my opinion a careful adaptation of these foreign political ideas in Southern Arabia is demonstrated by the fact that for the newly presented self-portrayal of the Southern Arabian kingdoms often those means were used which were borrowed from the Hellenistic-Roman world.

A good example of this is the fabrication of the palace in Shabwa⁸⁴. Both for the relief design of the columns and capitals as well as for the painting of the balustrades not only foreign craftsmen were engaged but also typical motifs of the Eastern Mediterranean regions⁸⁵ were applied. The figure painting, by the way, also seems to be an element of decoration which was first used at all at this time⁸⁶. The only comparisons so far are the famous paintings from Qaryat al-Fau⁸⁷ and the most recently discovered fragment of a head in the charac-

teristic style of a ruler portrayed with a head-band around it from an annexe of the Awām Temple in

⁸³ Without wanting to emphasize too strongly at this point any parallel development in the Mediterranean cultural region and in South Arabia, – to put it more simply – one can find in both cultures similar social political development processes that, however, begin slightly later in South Arabia.

⁸⁴ R. Audouin, *Sculptures et peintures du château royal de Shabwa*, in: J.-F. Breton (ed.), *Fouilles de Shabwa II* (1991) 165 ff.

⁸⁵ Audouin, *ibidem* 178 ff., and E. Will, *Note additionnelle au décor du château royal*, in: Breton (ed.), *op. cit.* 183 ff., see apart from the Eastern Mediterranean »Greek-Roman« influence a »parthian« influence. This is, however, represented by likewise Eastern Mediterranean art centres in Palmyra, Doura-Europos and Hatra. Without further separation I have dealt with these together in this paper.

⁸⁶ Also for the paintings one can find the models or rather the best comparisons in the Syrian regions. Will, *op. cit.* 184 f.

⁸⁷ A. R. al-Ansary, *Qaryat al-Fau. A Portrait of Pre-Islamic Civilisation in Saudi Arabia* (1982) 26 f. 135 ff.



Fig. 20a Jabal al-'Awd, bronze mask helmet



Fig. 20b Jabal al-'Awd, bronze bust of Athena

Marib⁸⁸. But in particular the two larger-than-life bronze statues from Yaqla' (today an-Nakhla al-Hamra') show that in Southwest Arabia they were definitely familiar with the method of portrayal of Hellenistic-Roman rulers and the connotation suggested by them. The two portrayed Himyarite kings Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr and his son Tha'rān (Fig. 19) were presented as gifts for display in the audience room⁸⁹. Amongst others the finds of Hellenistic-Roman bronzes and statuettes, such as the lion-rider of Timna⁹⁰ or the objects from the Jabal al-'Awd⁹¹ (Fig. 20) and the Jabal Ḥajjā⁹² in or on houses which rather tend to be allocated to officials and the upper class of the country, make the esteem of such pieces recognisable. The large number of the pieces of this kind discovered so far prevents us from regarding them only as meaningless exotic pieces of jewellery.

Even if we have last spoken about imports and Hellenistic-Roman influenced art craftsmanship I by no means wish to deny the art production of this time its originality. On the contrary! Apart from the examples described, one can also pursue the traditional production of art over a long period⁹³. In particular by the artistically influenced objects we can recognise how at the same time old traditions can be upheld and innovations simply used to develop one's own shapes and motifs.

Within a short time the influences are absorbed and adapted in their shape and meaningfulness.

THE TRANSITION TO THE HIMYARITE CULTURE

In conclusion, at this point, we come to the delimitation of the material culture from the following Himyarite age. Whereas during the »age of the fighting kingdoms« the region was split in the

⁸⁸ Apart from Internet publications (e.g. www.afsm.org/frameset.htm - photo04) the fragment of the wall paintings has not yet been published, as far as I know.

⁸⁹ K. Weidemann, *Könige aus dem Yemen. Zwei spätantike Bronzestatuen* (1983); W. W. Müller, *The Inscriptions on the Hellenistic Bronze Statues from Nakhlat al-Hamra', Yemen* (summary), *PSAS* 9, 79 f.

⁹⁰ B. Segall, *The Lion-Riders from Timna'*, in: R. LeBaron Bowen Jr. - E. P. Albright (ed.), *Archaeological Discoveries in South Arabia*, *PAFSM* 2 (1958) 155 ff.

⁹¹ *Vienna Catalogue* 387 ff. no. 461-465.

⁹² Apart from the silver head of Dionysos(?) the ivory fragment of a naked youth from the late Hellenistic period was discovered during the first excavation campaign of the GOAM. I would like to thank the head of the excavation A. Shamsan for his kind hints.

⁹³ Compare e.g. the different styles of the findings from the Jabal al-'Awd: H. Hitgen, in: *Munich Catalogue* 250 f.

political and also in the cultural sense and was constantly changing, with the political unity that followed as a result of the successful expansion policy of Himyar, it gradually began to find its peace⁹⁴. Probably in the awareness that a permanent rule over so many originally different social groups is only possible if, besides the political, the mostly forcefully achieved unity, one can find a mutual basis, the kings were early to turn to monotheism. No matter whether we are talking about a locally influenced monotheism or Judaism or Christianity⁹⁵, in any case it was possible in this way to achieve great mutuality between the different subjects of the realm and at the same time to rob the probably still powerful priesthood of its footing.

With the political unity and turning of the rulers to monotheism in the 4th century A.D. a decisive change in the material culture must have taken place. From archaeological excavations we have been able to gain almost no knowledge at all. But the singularly known monuments, although without context, and the objects of art found all give evidence of this. It is obvious that the repertoire of different types of art is declining rapidly. The slow abandonment of numerous polytheistic cults makes superfluous a large proportion of art production closely connected with these. The depiction of godly symbolic animals such as bulls and ibexes, for instance, loses its point. Portrayals of this kind can now only be regarded in their ornamental decorative context. For this reason the emphasis moves in the direction of decorative design in architecture. In this period we find an almost inexhaustible range of variations of ivy and leaf reliefs (Fig. 21) as well as capital shapes⁹⁶. Seen from a purely stylistic point of view, the capitals and the decorations only have parallels to a limited extent in the East Roman examples, even if they are proven to be based on them. In the case of the late Himyaritic shapes good comparisons can partly be found in the Axumite cultural areas⁹⁷. Altogether in this period considerably less direct influence can be determined, i.e. in particular stylistic influence on art creation than was still apparent during the centuries before. Also imports are missing nearly entirely⁹⁸. To the decorative, ornamentally appearing character of art one can also attribute the inscriptions which are now being carried out almost completely in high relief and therefore take on a different, playfully ornate appearance.

Also the representation of the royal court demands new forms of depiction. In this connection we can probably ascribe the fragments of battle reliefs⁹⁹ and portrayals of royal hunts¹⁰⁰ which can be found occasionally (Fig. 22). Here the king or princes are depicted with their virtues, i.e. as warriors and sophisticated, courageous huntsmen. Hunting is therefore given a royal aspect and is no longer seen in the context of cult.

⁹⁴ Cf. the concluding contributions on the historic and political conditions in the early Himyarite and Himyarite ages in the Vienna Catalogue by Ch. Robin, *Die streitenden Königreiche in Zeiten politischer Instabilität*, 261 ff. and I. Gajda, *Die Vereinigung Südarabiens unter dem Reich von Himyar*, 269 ff.

⁹⁵ Ch. Robin, *Du paganisme au monothéisme*, in: idem (ed.), *L'Arabie antique de Karib'il à Mahomet. Nouvelles données sur l'histoire des Arabes grâce aux inscriptions*, *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 61, 1992, 144 ff.; idem, *Sheba dans les inscriptions d'Arabie du Sud*, in: *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* (1996) 1189 ff.

⁹⁶ Relieved wine creeper ornamentation as well as Mediterranean-influenced capital shapes have not been researched into so far in South Arabia with a view to their stylistic development. However, it can be proven that some shapes were already widely distributed within this cultural circle during the first centuries A.D. A further development of these shapes can be traced up to the late Himyarite period and even further. An exact chronological placing is, however, extremely problematic. Basically the later objects often have a rather ornamental, decorative character. Cf. in this connection the pieces originating from various excavation sites in the Yemen, in: W. Radt, *Katalog der Staatlichen Antikensammlung von San'a' und anderer Antiken im Jemen* (1973) e.g. no. 24. 25. 43. 108. 109. 126. 130–132. For pieces that chronologically can be reasonably classified cf. B. Finster, *Arabien in der Spätantike*, *AA* 1996, 310 ff. 318 with note 129.

⁹⁷ E.g. *ibidem* 300.

⁹⁸ Apart from the numerous import ceramics of this period that have been salvaged from excavation in the South Arabian ports (cf. e.g. in detail A. V. Sedov, *New Archaeological and Epigraphical Material from Qana [South Arabia]*, *AAE* 3, 1992, 110 ff.) and some findings of coins, there are surprisingly few products of East Roman, Sassanidite or Axumite workshops (except pottery). For one of the few examples that clearly have a practical, not an artistic esthetical use cf. G. Brands, *Ein spätantikes Bronzegewicht im Yemen*, *AA* 1998, 483 ff.

⁹⁹ Radt op. cit. no. 44. 91; P. Costa, *Antiquities from Zafār (Yemen) II*, *AION* 36, 1976, no. 134.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. e.g. the hunting scenes on the capital from Ḥuṣn al-'Urr: in detail, in: E. J. Keall, *A Second Attempt to Understand the Historical Context of Ḥuṣn al-'Urr in the Hadramawt*, *PSAS* 25, 1995, 55 ff. For the dominant aspect of hunting cf. also the inscriptions in A. Sima, *Die Jagd im antiken Südarabien*, *WO* 31, 2000/2001, 84 ff.



Fig. 21 Ivy relief, National Museum Sana'a



Fig. 22 Battle relief, National Museum Sana'a, YM 37

Also the new religions now need new, different forms of expression. However, surprisingly very little has been preserved on this topic. We may expect the depiction of saints and symbols or religious stories, but this can hardly be substantiated with finds. Only in structural art or in building ornamentation can elements occasionally be found that presumably can be connected with Christian symbolism¹⁰¹. These include, for instance, representations of peacocks and *Kantharoi*, but also wine creepers can be interpreted in this way¹⁰². In sculpture the situation regarding tradition is even worse. Here only a few examples are known so far that have religious topics in their content. These are almost always representations of Mary¹⁰³. In the case of the statuette in the National Museum in Sana'a¹⁰⁴ (Fig. 23) it is with great probability a Maria with the child – a motif that reoccurs in one of the two pieces originating from the art market. Likewise following the pattern of Christian iconography appear to be two statuettes or representations worked in high relief made of magnesium hydroxide carbonate, which were recently discovered in a resettlement phase of the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. on the Jabal al-'Awd¹⁰⁵. Comparison with Coptic and East Mediterranean depictions make an interpretation as saints or ecclesiastical dignitaries probable. Corresponding pieces may give a hint as to what can all still be expected if one were to concentrate archaeological activities on targeted excavation sites of the late period in Southern Arabia.

CONCLUSION

The few examples from the most varied areas of South Arabian culture during the first centuries

A.D. described in the above confirm, in my opinion and from a material cultural point of view the historic periodisation of South Arabia compiled in the Paris Catalogue on the Yemen Exhibition of 1997. In addition to the well-known epigraphic subdivision we also find chronologically parallel to this a historic division that finds expression and its equivalent in the material characteristic of South Arabia at that time. From an archaeological point of view, therefore, individual phases may

¹⁰¹ Although not just a few church buildings are known from the inscriptions or from ancient sources, these cannot be proven so far from an archaeological point of view. Also the famous church of Sana'a is being reconstructed almost exclusively on the grounds of ancient and Islamic descriptions. Cf. B. Finster – J. Schmidt, *Die Kirche des Abraha in San'a'*, in: N. Nebes (ed.), *Arabia Felix. Festschrift W. W. Müller* (1994) 67 ff. Surprisingly there is almost no material evidence up to now of Jewish religious communities in ancient times, except for the building in Qāni' which is regarded by the excavators for good reasons as a being a synagogue: A. V. Sedov, *Qana' (Yemen) and the Indian Ocean. The Archaeological Evidence*, in: H. P. Ray – J.-F. Salles (eds), *Tradition and Archaeology. Early Maritime Contacts in the Indian Ocean. Proceedings of the International Seminar: Techno-Archaeological Perspectives of Seafaring in the Indian Ocean, 4th cent. B.C. – 15th cent. A.D.* New Delhi, February 28 – March 4, 1994 (1996) 18.

¹⁰² Finster op. cit. 307.

¹⁰³ Of the three sculptures known to me, two have unfortunately disappeared on the art market, and can therefore not be dealt with here more closely.

¹⁰⁴ Finster op. cit. 308 f. with note 97.

¹⁰⁵ One of the two pieces is complete whereas the second one has only been preserved in the form of fragments. A detailed publication of these objects is in preparation.

not be generalised – as has still been the case recently. In the material definition of a cultural horizon it seems to me to be inappropriate to concentrate on the ceramic sequences alone and in doing so to pay no attention whatsoever to the much more meaningful expressions in art and the patterns of social behaviour that are reflected, for instance, in architecture or in burial rites.

In almost all fields of the cultural expression of South Arabia there are obvious displacements and changes towards the end of the 1st century B.C. which makes a periodic subdivision very necessary. With the strong expansion of sea trade, apart from the foreign body of thought, in particular Mediterranean, i.e. Hellenistic-Roman influenced art perception finds its way into the creation of art in South Arabia. A slow individualisation process as well as a transformation in the political-social structures cause a fundamental change in the cultural expression of South Arabia whereby, however, over a longer period, for example, the traditional art perception is handed down and finds its place next to the new formation possibilities. In the end, with this it achieves a unity, its own artistic identity.

Towards the end of the 3rd or in the course of the 4th century A.D. a further distinct transition occurs in the cultural expression of South Arabia. With the complete takeover of power on the part of Himyar over almost the whole of South Arabia and the slow takeover of monotheistic religions, the full, handed-down range of pictures of society changes. Pictures, official and religious architectures, as well as burial rites adapt to the new religious and social circumstances and develop new languages of form. This transformation as well as the character of the new vocabulary of forms will come even better to the



Fig. 23 Mary (?) with the child, National Museum Sana'a

fore in an intensification of research activities in the so-called late period in South Arabia than are already recognisable at the present time.

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"عهد الممالك المتحاربة" (القرن الأول قبل الميلاد حتى القرن الثالث الميلادي) في جنوب بلاد العرب جوانب الحضارة المادية خلال فترة من التحول

هولجر هتجن

(Holger Hitgen)

ملخص:

أمام خلفيات لجوانب مختلفة من حضارة جنوب بلاد العرب يبرز مقالنا هذا أن "عهد الممالك المتحاربة" يمثل ذروته التاريخية للحضارية المادية الخاصة بين القرن الأول قبل الميلاد والقرن الثالث الميلادي. ويمكن وضع ذلك بوضوح في مقابل عهد "ممالك القوافل" السابق و"العهد الحميري" التالي.

فمن الناحية المادية والناحية التاريخية الحضارية يتميز ذلك العهد بانفتاح على الفن الأجنبي وبخاصة تأثيرات الفن الروماني الهلنستي، وبالتخلي التدريجي عن اللغة الشكلية التقليدية، وكذا بالتوسع الكبير في الكم الهائل من العروض الفنية ونخازن الشكل البنائي. وإن عملية التميز في مجتمع جنوب بلاد العرب لا يمكن ملاحظتها في النقوش فحسب، ولا تتمثل فقط في تلك الطرق المتعددة من التصوير، بل أيضا في عدد هائل من مختلف طقوس الدفن المترامنة.

ومن مميزات "عهد الممالك المتحاربة" أنه فترة انتقالية وفترة تحول شمل جنوب بلاد العرب كلها وليس فقط الأسر للقاطنة في المرتفعات الجبلية الناشئة حديثا مثل حمير، بل أيضا ممالك القوافل التقليدية على تخوم "رملة السبعين" التي فقدت سلطاتها ونفوذها تدريجيا. ولذا فإن الفصل التاريخي والحضاري التام للمرتفعات اليمنية يمكن رفضه أيضا من الناحية الاصطلاحية كخلاصة للذروة الحضارية المادية خلال الفترة من القرن الأول قبل الميلاد حتى ظهور الإسلام باعتباره "عهدا حميريا". والآن يمكننا في علم الآثار أن نطلق على الفترة من القرن الأول قبل الميلاد حتى القرن الثالث الميلادي التي استمر وصفها لأمد طويل من وجهة نظر إببيغرافية بـ "العصر السبئي الوسيط" وكذلك وصفها حديثا جدا لأسباب تاريخية سياسية بـ "عهد الممالك المتحاربة" أن نطلق عليها "العصر الحميري المبكر".

SELECTED POTTERY FROM THE CEMETERY OF THE AWĀM TEMPLE IN MARIB – OBSERVATIONS ON CHRONOLOGY AND PROVENIENCE

The subject of this article is the presentation of selected types of normal sized pottery found during the last five seasons of excavation at the cemetery of the Awām temple in Marib, in order to construct a chronological frame for Sabaean pottery.

Unlike miniature vessels, most of the normal sized pottery was found in fragmentary condition. Nevertheless, several pieces show a quite complete profile, so they can be arranged in a typology similar to the miniature pottery. Some of the normal sized fragments have equivalents within the miniature examples; however, many display different forms and types. Yet, the fabric as well as clay colour and surface colour are comparable by the majority, and therefore an identical production area for miniature and normal sized vessels can be assumed. Decoration, slip and burnishing of numerous pieces can even be judged as corresponding.

Most of the vessels presented here were found throughout the whole area of the necropolis without any stratigraphic context. Only few were excavated in places, which can be considered a mostly undisturbed locus; two such examples will be discussed later on. Consequently, this attempt in constructing a chronology for the pottery in Marib is mainly based on comparisons with forms from other areas and excavations.

Small angular juglets that seem to derive from the Sabaean sphere were always covered by a burnished slip. The body is tall with straight sides, a sharply angled shoulder and a diagonally out-turning rim (Cat. 1. 2). Some pieces were used as ostraka with names written on the outside surface. Comparable concerning the form are jars from

Hajar bin Humayd, but one group has a bigger rim diameter and painted bands or wavy lines on the outer surface¹. The jars belong to the period between the 9th and the 7th century BCE. Another group is more similar in terms of size and stems from a later period, late 5th to the early 3rd century BCE. As in Marib the jars often have incised inscriptions and sometimes are burnished on the outside². An example from ad-Durayb – Yalā is quite identical in looks, even displaying an inscription on the outside; it is dated to the 12th to 9th century BCE³. Perhaps these angular juglets and their special treatment can be regarded as long-lived forms produced and used between the 10th and 5th century BCE. Thus, they could represent some of the oldest pottery material from the Awām cemetery.

In the assemblages, in which these angular juglets appeared, the following vessels were also observed

Sources of illustrations: Cat. 3. 5. 15. 17. 20–23. 25. 29. 40–43. Fig. 1. 2: Photo J. Kramer. – Cat. 34–37: Photo I. Wagner. – Cat. 5. 6. 9. 19. 24. 28–38. 40–43: Drawing by M. Manda. – Cat. 1–4. 7. 8. 10–18. 20–23. 25–27. 39. 44: Drawings by S. Japp.

¹ G. W. Van Beek, Hajar Bin Humayd. Investigations at a Pre-Islamic Site in South Arabia, PAFSM V (1969) 189 fig. 46 Type 1002 H 2203. H 2188. H 2187.

² Van Beek op. cit. 202 fig. 59 Type 1110 LCF 6.

³ G. Garbini, Le iscrizioni su ceramica da ad-Durayb – Yalā, Yemen I, 1992, 80 fig. 6; 83 fig. 14; W. Seipel, Jemen. Kunst und Archäologie im Land der Königin von Saba, exhibition cat. Vienna (1999) 95 cat. 41 (left object). Concerning the pottery fragments used as ostraka in Yalā compared to the ones from the Awām cemetery it is remarkable that many similar forms were used, such as carinated bowls, torpedo-shaped jars or even the above-mentioned angular juglets.

(Cat. 3. 4). The body shows a strong carination in the middle, rendering the whole vessel a biconical appearance. All known fragments are covered with a red, horizontally burnished slip, and there is a row of short vertical lines painted around the rim in red colour on several pieces. Like the aforementioned juglets a similar example from Yalā with an inscription has been dated to the 12th to 9th century BCE⁴. Nevertheless, we would assume a longer period of production and use in view of the associated material, which could be dated to the 8th to 5th century BCE.

Interesting and even of very old appearance are fragments that make up an independent group. They can be reconstructed as goblets with a high out-turning foot, a nearly flat base and straight body walls (Cat. 5. 6). The vessels are always decorated on the outer surface with horizontally incised lines running along the rim area as well the area above the stem. The space between is covered by regularly incised, vertical bands, that are alternately red-painted or filled with diagonal or x-shaped grooves. One corresponding sherd is known from Hajar bin Ḥumayd in stratum S, dated to the 11th century BCE⁵.

So it seems that these three types of vessels belong to the oldest pottery that we have observed in the Awām necropolis.

The mass of the pottery from the cemetery should be dated between the 7th and the 5th century BCE, where we have noticed a lot of building activities. Most of the miniature vessels seem to belong to this period. As mentioned above the miniature pottery possesses normal sized equivalents, for example beakers, bowls or even jugs. In this respect a very interesting find complex was discovered outside tomb 37 to the south of the necropolis. An ensemble of several juglets had been placed on a small earthen elevation at the corner edge of the tomb (Fig. 1). About 40 rim- and foot-fragments could be exposed; five pieces were quite complete. Most of the handmade juglets display a short foot, globular body, short neck and an out-curving rim (Cat. 7. 8). The outer surface was usually covered by a thin red wash, a red or beige, sometimes burnished slip. General form, fabric, wash or slip correspond mostly to that of the miniature jugs found in the cemetery⁶. Perhaps this find complex provides a clue to the function of these vessels. Presumably the small juglets were

filled with gifts for the dead or the god, perhaps with liquids, cereals or dried fruits. It seems that relatives or even visitors of the tomb erected the small elevation and placed offerings on it. Determining the date of these jugs still appears to be a problem, since this form was used for centuries. Nevertheless, we would like to propose a date from about the 8th to the 5th century BCE.

Within the group of jars and jugs there is quite a high percentage of another special type; mostly rim, foot and body sherds were excavated at the cemetery. Their affiliation with one group is proven by the special fabric that was not found in other pottery. In contrast to the miniature vessels and most of the normal sized ones the clay is mixed with a high quantity of sandy inclusions. The outer surface was treated in a special way, showing traces of a certain method of burnishing. The inside of the vessels is usually rough and unfinished, and very often finger impressions of the potter can be seen. Fortunately some complete profiles help to determine two main forms: The first one consists of a high and slightly out-turning foot, an oblong body, where the greatest diameter lies in the upper third, a distinct indentation for the neck and an out-turning flaring rim (Cat. 9. 10). The second form possesses more or less the same features, except that the body is more bulbous (Cat. 11. 12). While the bodies show mainly the same stylistic elements, the rims were finished in various ways (Cat. 13. 14). At the cemetery the variety of dimensions is remarkable, with the known heights ranging between 10 to 30 cm, the measured rim diameters between 6 to 18 cm. It seems quite interesting that rim sherds of these vessels were often used as ostraka with an inscription on the inner or outer surface of the rim. These jars are well known and can be observed at several excavations in South Arabia. They were also found in greater quantities in Yalā, and in smaller numbers in Hajar bin Ḥumayd, in the Wadi al-Jūba and the Wadi Bayḥān, in Shabwa, Zabīd and al-Hāmid as well as, for example, in Najrān in Saudi Arabia and in Ethiopia. The published examples seem to represent more often the larger sizes, not

⁴ Ibidem 96 cat. 42 (right object).

⁵ Van Beek op.cit. 195 fig. 52 Type 1100 LCF 2.

⁶ S. Japp, Die Miniaturkeramik aus der Nekropole des Awām-Tempels in Marib, ABADY 9 (2002) 142 f.



Fig. 1 Complex of juglets found on an elevation outside tomb 37

the smaller ones, of the cemetery⁷. They are designated ›egg-shaped‹ or ›torpedo-shaped‹ jars. Perhaps they were once used as liquid containers, but in Marib no remains of the content could be traced. In Hajar bin Ḥumayd the jars as well as the examples from a dwelling in Yalā/Ḥafārī are dated to the 7th century BCE. At other sites the period is supposedly somewhat longer, between the 8th to 6th century or even the 11th to 5th century BCE, dates that we can confirm for the Awām cemetery. These torpedo-shaped jars seem to be not only a typical but even an indicative type of Sabaeen pottery.

Beside these two groups that account for altogether more than 80% of all jugs and jars within the pottery ensemble of the Awām necropolis, there also are some mainly handmade jugs and juglets with different forms and even quite special kinds of decoration. Because of their small number and their appearance the following examples are presumed to be imports, even though there is no distinct difference in fabric. Therefore they will be described in more detailed, in order to draw the attention to the special way of decoration: One example shows two zig-zag-lines framed by horizontal lines (Cat. 15). Drop-like designs filled with

small dots hang from the lowest line. Similar in looks is a beige-slipped juglet; below the rim two horizontal lines frame a row of diagonal strikes (Cat. 16). Again, drop-like designs hang from the lower line, however only the circle at the end is filled with one dot. The space between the two drops is filled with three horizontal wavy lines. Small raised clay lumps were applied beside the

⁷ Hajar bin Ḥumayd: Van Beek op. cit. 170. 256 fig. 113 Jar I. – Yalā: A. de Maigret, *The Sabaeen Archaeological Complex in the Wadi Yala* (1988) 15 fig. 23 no. 8. 10–15. – Wadi al-Jūba: W. D. Glanzman, *Toward a classification and chronology of pottery from HR3, Wadi al-Jubah* (Diss. University of Pennsylvania 1994) 308 ff. – Wadi Bayḥān: J.-Ch. Arramond, *La Céramique*, in: J.-F. Breton–J.-Ch. Arramond – B. Coque-Delhuille – P. Gentelle (ed.), *Une vallée aride du Yémen antique. Le Wadi Bayhan* (1998) 220 pl. 14. – Hajar Surbān: Seipel op. cit. 296 cat. 296 (center object). – Zabīd: Ch. Ciuk – E. Keall, *Zabid Project Pottery Manual* 1995 (1996) 21 Ta. 95/2 h. – I was told by A. de Maigret that they found a distinct variety of the bulbous and ovoid body forms in a dwelling in Yalā/Ḥafārī and that even here the rim fragments were used as ostraka. Quite a lot of torpedo-shaped jars have been found in Ethiopia: F. Anfray, *Première campagne de fouilles à Matarā*, AE 5, 1963, pl. 128. 140, 1. 2.

drops. The whole decoration is completed by a line of little punctuates. This kind of drop-like designs is reminiscent of pre-Axoumite ware, even though those examples were filled with crossed lines⁸. Another juglet covered by an orange-beige slip, horizontally burnished, shows an unusual decor: just below the rim a line of hanging triangles were incised into the surface (Cat. 17). The tips of the triangles are connected by a wavy line and they are filled with diagonal lines. Another incised decoration is comprised of three horizontal bands filled alternately with diagonal and x-shaped strokes (Cat. 18). Seemingly corresponding is another jug, completely preserved, with a neck decoration of vertical lines covered by diagonal ones (Cat. 19). On the body there are alternating triangles filled with horizontal strokes and wavy lines. Another singular and very elaborated thin-walled piece shows a carination below the long curved neck (Cat. 20). The outer surface is not only covered with a light orange and carefully burnished slip, but a line of small triangular notches follow the carination and below them several thin strokes run diagonally in opposite directions, covering the whole body. The following type, known until now from only two pieces, has a wavy line bordered by two horizontal lines, deeply incised into the clay below the neck, rendering a positive-negative impression (Cat. 21). From the lowest horizontal line start parallel vertical grooves, again deeply incised. Another single rim fragment and one body wall combine different types of horizontally, vertically and diagonally incised strokes as well as punctuates (Cat. 22, 23). The very extravagant decoration was placed on the upper part of the angled body. Perhaps vessels deriving from the Axoumite period can be brought as comparisons; here a similar covering of the body with vertical, horizontal and diagonal lines as well as punctuates is visible⁹. Just the lower part of a small juglet is preserved showing a deeply incised grid design (Cat. 24). Not an incised decoration but several horizontal lines of applied knobs cover a very bulbous type of jug, together with a black burnished slip (Cat. 25). For all these jugs we can only assume a date within the main period of the Marib necropolis.

The miniature vessels as well as some of the aforementioned jugs were perhaps produced and used between the 8th and the 5th century BCE. Some other pottery types of normal size seem to

belong to this period as well, for example, different kinds of deep bowls with decoration. The outer surface could be covered with a closely spaced, deeply incised set of vertical lines emanating from the rim and arranged in several rows, or beneath the first row follows a single horizontally incised wavy line and below that a number of dot impressions (Cat. 26, 27). Quite similar pieces from the excavation in Yalā and the stratigraphic probe in Wadi al-Jūba (Hajar ar-Rayḥānī) can be dated between the 8th and 6th century BCE¹⁰.

The same period can be applied to the multi-chambered-vessels. In Marib they are found in several variations with a flat base or a short foot, with short straight sides or a bulbous body, with four chambers or a round central and several side chambers in the interior (Cat. 28, 29). Another type of chamber vessel displays irregularly shaped chambers simply pressed into the body (Cat. 30, 31). It seems that this kind of vessel had been used for different cosmetic substances. They are not bound to the necropolis; multi-chambered vessels were found in Yalā¹¹, and even C. Rathjens mentioned a multi-chambered vessel bought in Sana'a, but originally deriving from the Jawf¹².

Easy to identify and dated by comparisons to the 8th to 6th century BCE are the fenestrated fragments that presumably originated from incense burners (Cat. 32, 33)¹³.

Apparently later in date are vessels from a closed stratigraphic locus: At the base of tomb 20 near the mausoleum (area B) the sherds of about fifteen pieces of pottery were found, placed directly upon the rock (Fig. 2). After cleaning it was possible to restore twelve more or less complete vessels. Most of them seem to have survived a later fire, the outer surface shows grey-coloured spots in places and is chipped. Two different fabrics can be traced in the

⁸ Idem, *Matarā*, AE 7, 1967, pl. 42.

⁹ H. de Contenson, *Trouvailles fortuites aux environs d'Ar-oum*, AE 4, 1961, pl. 13.

¹⁰ Yalā: personal communication of A. de Maigret. – Wadi al-Jūba: W. D. Glanzman – A. O. Ghaleb, *The Stratigraphic Probe at Hajar ar-Rayhani. The Wadi al-Jubah Archaeological Project III* (1987) 91 fig. 5.1.15; 95 fig. 5.3.

¹¹ Personal communication by A. de Maigret.

¹² C. Rathjens, *Sabaeica. Bericht über die archäologischen Ergebnisse seiner zweiten, dritten und vierten Reise nach Südarabien II*, MMVH 24, 1955, 299 pl. 621; 305 pl. 634.

¹³ The pieces from the Awām cemetery are very similar to the ones shown at the conference by C. Philipp.



Fig. 2 Complex of pottery found at the bottom of tomb 20

handmade vessels; however, the surface colour of reddish brown to brown and the diagonal burnish on the outer surface are identical. Six vessels are jars with a flat base, an oblong, egg-shaped body – just one piece has a globular body –, a very short neck and an out-curving rim (Cat. 34. 35). Their only decoration is represented by a line of short vertical notches directly below the neck indentation. Their size is quite similar: the height varies between 41 to 46 cm, the rim diameter between 15 to 18 cm. Moreover, two jugs with a different form could be recognized: they have rounded bases, and the widest diameter of the body lies in the lower part (Cat. 36). Furthermore, the fragments allowed the reconstruction of three vessels of quite unusual form, in contrast to other pottery finds from the necropolis. Two are fragmentary, but with one the whole profile exists. It exhibits a tulip-like body with a straight, sometimes in-curving rim (Cat. 37). The body ends in a thin, stick-like foot with a hollow in the base. On one example some remains of white painted lines running diagonally along the outer surface and vertically below the rim could be recognized. Resembling ancient *rhyta*, these vessels were used perhaps as ladles or cups, and therefore were inserted in the opening of the jars or

were set into a tripod. Such a vessel-stand also belonged to the complex (Cat. 38). The last two objects can be identified as a small jug with a rounded body and a bowl with horizontal handles. The circumstances of the find, the size of the pieces and their similar treatment seem to lead to the conclusion, that these vessels were made during the same period and form an ensemble of pottery, intentionally placed at the base of the tomb. We can interpret this perhaps as a foundation offering in the tomb or an offering for initiating the tomb's use. The form of these vessels as well as their fabric and the kind of burnishing are unusual within the pottery finds of the Awām cemetery now. Because of the architecture of the tomb, its structure and the situation within the cemetery, its origin is dated around the 5th century BCE. Thus, an analogous date for the pottery should be assumed. There are comparable pieces for the jugs within the material of tombs in Samad in Oman¹⁴. Form and size are similar, the sometimes slightly varying decoration

¹⁴ P. Yule, *Die Gräberfelder in Samad al Shān* (Sultanat Oman). *Materialien zu einer Kulturgeschichte*, *OrA* 4 (2001) 73 f. 157 pl. 53 fig. 1. 2; pl. 61 fig. 6. 7; pl. 82 fig. 2; pl. 103 fig. 4; pl. 218 (lower left); pl. 423 fig. 10.

was always placed below the neck indentation, yet the vessels are not burnished. These tombs have been dated between 300 BCE and 1 000 CE, corresponding vessels between 300 BCE and 200 CE.

Concerning the later period, between the 4th and the 1st century BCE, the material is not as widespread. Some amphora-like vessels and huge storage jars were unearthed as well as – until now – one rim of a classical black-glazed bowl with an out-turning rim from the first half of the 4th century BCE (Cat. 39).

Moreover, we have fragments of beakers and bowls with wavy rims, dated in Shabwa between the 2nd century BCE and the 1st century CE¹⁵. Also a member of this group are vessels with a globular body. Their shoulder is formed like a protruding ridge, the zone above the ridge could be a straight or wavy rim (Cat. 40. 41). Unfortunately we found only fragments, rarely rims, so that the whole appearance could not be restored. The ridge was regularly pierced and little birds made of clay were placed between the holes. These birds have only two wings, a kind of head and a tail (Cat. 42). Some look as if they were originally covered with a light white wash. In addition, handles decorated with these little birds were recovered (Cat. 43). Perhaps these bird-vessels represent some of the later pottery material in the Awām necropolis. Whether this group is a typical Sabaeen one still remains a question.

Another unique piece might derive from this period. It displays a deep bowl with straight sides (Cat. 44). The outer surface shows precisely incised thin vertical and horizontal lines together with double circles arranged in vertical rows. This order resembles the decoration on stone vessels of the 2nd millennium BCE from Oman and the Emirates, however there single or double circles with a dot inside were placed in horizontal rows. During the 1st millennium BCE the motif was transferred to pottery. Similar yet not identical in appearance are examples from the Dhofar that are dated between the 1st century BCE and the 4th century CE¹⁶.

In summary, at this point in research we can state that the normal sized pottery of the Awām necropolis in Marib derive from the period between the 10th century BCE to the 2nd century CE¹⁷. Some of the forms and types shown are similar to those of other Sabaeen find complexes; some of them have features that recall other regions. The

majority go back to the main occupation period of the necropolis, while some forms belong to earlier and later periods.

CATALOGUE

1

Area d, tomb 20, locus 20

Broken base, straight body walls, angled shoulder and slightly out-turning rim with groove on the outer surface, tapered lip.

Rim diameter: 6 cm.

Clay: quite dense, some mica, quartz and chaff holes; clay colour: beige; surface colour: beige.

2

Area a, tomb 2, locus 5

Broken base, straight body walls, angled shoulder, out-turning rim, tapered lip.

Rim diameter: 8 cm.

Clay: quite dense, some mica, quartz and chaff holes; clay colour: beige-grey; surface colour: grey.

3

Area d, locus 0

Concave shaped base, angled body walls, rounded lip.

Rim diameter: 6 cm; base diameter: 7 cm; height: 6.9 cm.

Clay: quite dense, some mica, quartz and chaff holes; clay colour: brown; outer surface: reddish brown burnished slip, below the rim a line of small strokes, inner surface: reddish brown.

¹⁵ Different kinds of bowls with wavy rims are among the material of the Awām cemetery. One group definitely belongs to the other vessels from the 7th to 5th century BCE in view of fabric, surface and thickness of the walls. The other group mentioned here is characterized by the whitish colour of the surface and clay and by the thin walls and elaborated tapered rim. Other sites are, for example, Shabwa, Wadi Dura', Wadi al-Jūba, Wadi Bayhān: L. Badre, *Le sondage stratigraphique de Shabwa, Syria* 68, 1991, 279. 293 fig. 27, 134–138; J.-F. Breton–M. Abd al-Qadir Bafaqih, *Trésors du Wādī Dura'* (1993) 40 no. 89. 90 pl. 20 fig. 59. 60; Glanzman–Ghaleb op. cit. 99 fig. 5.7; Rathjens op. cit. 301 pl. 626.

¹⁶ J. Zarins, *Persia and Dhofar: Aspects of Iron Age International Politics and Trade*, in: G. D. Young–M. W. Chavalas–R. E. Averbeck (ed.), *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons* (1997) 670 f. fig. 17 f.

¹⁷ Not mentioned are the fragments of Islamic glazed pottery stemming from the later reuse of the cemetery.

4

Area e, locus 1

Flat base, angled body walls, rounded lip.

Rim diameter: 4,5 cm; base diameter: 4,7 cm; height: 6,2 cm.

Clay: quite dense, some mica, quartz and chaff holes; clay colour: light brown; outer surface: reddish brown burnished slip, inner surface: light brown.

5

Area f, south of tomb 48, locus 1

Out-turning high foot, vertical base, straight slightly concave shaped body walls, rounded lip, below the rim on the inner surface a protruding ridge.

Decoration: vertical lines structuring the outer body wall, the bands filled alternately with red slip or another x-shaped line, three horizontal grooves below the rim and one above the foot.

Rim diameter: 12,8 cm; foot diameter: 8,4 cm; height: 13,1 cm.

Clay: quite dense, some mica, quartz and chaff holes; clay colour: light brown; surface colour: beige and red burnished slip.

6

Area d, locus 4

Broken foot, diagonal base, straight slightly concave shaped body walls, tapered lip.

Decoration: vertical lines structuring the outer body wall, the bands filled alternately with red slip or x-shaped/diagonal lines, red slip on the inner rim section.

Rim diameter: 8 cm.

Clay: quite dense, some mica, quartz and chaff holes; clay colour: greyish; surface colour: beige and red burnished slip.

7

Area d, south of tomb 37, locus 19

Broad short foot, bulbous body with the widest diameter in the lower part, short out-turning rim and tapered lip.

Rim diameter: 3,9 cm; foot diameter: 6,4 cm; height: 8,8 cm.

Clay: quite dense, little mica, few chaff holes; clay colour: orangish brown; outer surface: dark red slip.

8

Area d, south of tomb 37, locus 20

Broad out-turning foot, bulbous body with the widest diameter in the center, short straight neck and out-turning rim, tapered lip.

Rim diameter: 4,2 cm; foot diameter: 6,5 cm; height: 10,8 cm.

Clay: quite dense, little mica, few chaff holes; clay colour: greyish brown; outer surface: dark brown slip.

9

Area a, locus 15

Broken foot, oblong body wall with the widest diameter in the shoulder section, short neck and out-turning rim, tapered lip.

Rim diameter: 11 cm.

Clay: dense, small and medium sized mineral inclusions; clay colour: reddish brown; surface colour: light reddish brown.

10

Area a, tomb 1, locus 9

Long out-turning foot, oblong body wall with the widest diameter in the upper section, short neck and out-turning rim, rounded lip.

Rim diameter: 6,7 cm; foot diameter: 6,5 cm; height: 18 cm.

Clay: dense, small and medium sized mineral inclusions; clay colour: reddish brown; surface colour: reddish brown.

11

Area a, tomb 1, locus 9

Long foot, bulbous body wall with the widest diameter in the lower section, short neck and out-turning rim, rounded lip.

Rim diameter: 7,8 cm; foot diameter: 10 cm; height: 14 cm.

Clay: dense, small and medium sized mineral inclusions, some chaff holes; clay colour: red; surface colour: light reddish brown.

12

Area d, locus 19

Long foot, bulbous body wall with the widest diameter in the shoulder section, short neck, rim broken.

Foot diameter: 7 cm.

Clay: dense, small and medium sized mineral inclusions, few chaff holes; clay colour: yellowish brown; surface colour: yellowish brown.

13

Area d, locus 20

Short out-turning rim, rounded lip, very bulbous body wall.

Rim diameter: 9,6 cm.

Clay: dense, small and medium sized mineral inclusions; clay colour: brown; surface colour: reddish brown.

14

Area e, locus 1

Long nearly horizontal rim, tapered lip, long neck.

Rim diameter: 9,3 cm.

Clay: dense, small and medium sized mineral inclusions, few chaff holes; clay colour: reddish brown; surface colour: yellowish brown.

15

Area f, locus 0

Very bulbous body walls, short straight rim with rounded lip.

Rim diameter: 6 cm.

Clay: very dense, little mica and few chaff holes; clay colour: grey; outer surface: dark grey burnished slip.

16

Area b, locus 1

Bulbous body walls, out-turning rim with rounded lip.

Rim diameter: 4,4 cm.

Clay: very dense, mica and few chaff holes; clay colour: grey; outer surface: greyish beige burnished slip.

17

Area f, locus 0

Bulbous body walls, short out-turning rim with tapered lip.

Rim diameter: 4,8 cm.

Clay: very dense, little mica and few chaff holes; clay colour: light brown; outer surface: yellowish beige burnished slip.

18

Area d, locus 0

Bulbous body walls, out-turning rim with thick rounded lip.

Rim diameter: 7 cm.

Clay: very dense, little mica and few chaff holes; clay colour: grey; outer surface: black burnished slip.

19

Area a, locus 18

Globular body with rounded base, out-turning long rim with tapered lip.

Rim diameter: 6,5 cm; height: 11 cm.

Clay: very dense, little mica and few chaff holes; clay colour: yellowish brown; outer surface: beige-brown burnished slip.

20

Area g, locus 0

Bulbous body walls, carinated shoulder, long concave shaped neck and thick rounded lip.

Rim diameter: 6,2 cm.

Clay: very dense, little mica and nearly no chaff holes; clay colour: reddish brown; outer surface: yellowish beige burnished slip.

21

Area b, locus 0

Bulbous body walls, out-turning thickened rim with rounded lip.

Rim diameter: 7,5 cm.

Clay: dense, little mica, few quartz and lime inclusions, some chaff holes; clay colour: greyish black; outer surface: black burnished slip.

22

Area a, locus 0

Vertical body wall with carination in the center, short vertical rim with tapered lip.

Rim diameter: 7 cm.

Clay: dense, little mica, few quartz and lime inclusions, some chaff holes; clay colour: reddish brown; outer surface: red burnished slip.

23

Area a, locus 0

Part of the vertical upper body wall, rim broken.

Clay: dense, little mica, few quartz and lime inclusions, some chaff holes; clay colour: brown; outer surface: brown burnished slip.

24

Area b, tomb 15, locus 16

Broken rim, very bulbous body walls, out-turning foot. Foot diameter: 4,1 cm.

Clay: dense, little mica, few quartz and lime inclusions, few chaff holes; clay colour: black; outer surface: black burnished slip.

25

Area d, locus 19

Very bulbous body walls, out-turning rim with tapered lip.

Rim diameter: 7,8 cm.

Clay: very dense, some mica, some small quartz, lime and mineral inclusions; clay colour: black; outer surface: greyish black burnished slip.

26

Area d, locus 19

Deep bowl with straight body walls, straight rim with pointed lip, outer surface covered with four lines of vertical strokes.

Rim diameter: 22,8 cm.

Clay: dense, some mica, few chaff holes and lime inclusions; clay colour: brown; surface colour: beige.

27

Area d, locus 6

Deep bowl with straight body walls, straight rim with pointed lip, below the rim on the outer surface one row of vertical strokes, a wavy line and three lines of punctuates, on the inner surface below the rim a horizontal small handle.

Rim diameter: 13 cm.

Clay: dense, some mica, few chaff holes, some lime and mineral inclusions; clay colour: yellowish brown; surface colour: yellowish brown.

28

Area a, tomb 1, locus 11

Long foot, horizontal base, straight body walls, incurving rim and tapered lip, two crossing walls in the interior reaching from the base to the beginning of the rim section. Rim diameter: 5,0 cm; foot diameter: 6,1 cm; height: 7 cm.

Clay: dense, some mica, few chaff holes; surface colour: whitish beige.

29

Area b, locus 0

Convex formed base with round impressions, straight body walls, straight rim and rounded lip, one round and the remains of five side chambers.

Rim diameter: 15,9 cm; height: 4,6 cm.

Clay: dense, some mica, some chaff holes and quartz inclusions; clay colour: greyish brown; surface colour: greyish brown.

30

Area b, locus 0

Rectangular flat vessel with horizontal base and straight walls, on the inside three rounded impressions and two flat grooves.

13,3 × 10,1 cm; height 4,6 cm.

Clay: very dense, few mica, few chaff holes; clay colour: orange; surface: reddish brown burnished slip.

31

Area b, locus 0

Rectangular flat vessel with rounded corners, horizontal base and straight walls, on the inside three rounded impressions, one flat groove and one short groove, one-third of the vessel broken.

10,8 × 9,9 cm; height 1,7 cm.

Clay: very dense, few mica, few chaff holes; clay colour: brown; surface: reddish brown burnished slip.

32

Area e, locus 1

Upper part of the vessel with rectangular holes and

small elliptic punctuates, in the center a round hole, on the remaining straight body walls again rectangular holes.

Max. diameter 8,6 cm; preserved height 2,8 cm.

Clay: dense, some mica, some chaff holes; some lime, quartz and mineral inclusions; clay colour: reddish brown; surface colour: reddish brown.

33

Area a, locus 15

Upper part of the vessel with irregularly shaped holes and small punctuates, in the center a round hole, over-arched by two stripes of clay with punctuates, on the remaining straight body walls again rectangular holes.

Max. diameter 9,5 cm; preserved height 3,5 cm.

Clay: dense, some mica, some chaff holes; some lime, quartz and mineral inclusions; clay colour: reddish brown; surface colour: reddish brown.

34

Area b, tomb 20, locus 46

Flat base, oblong body walls with the widest diameter in the upper section, neck indentation and out-turning rim, tapered lip, small vertical strokes along the neck.

Rim diameter: 18,2 cm; base diameter: 13 cm; height: 45,5 cm.

Clay: dense, lot of lime and quartz inclusions and some mica; clay colour: reddish brown; surface colour: reddish brown, vertically burnished.

35

Area b, tomb 20, locus 46

Flat base, bulbous body walls with the widest diameter in the central section, neck indentation and out-turning rim, rounded lip, small vertical strokes along the neck.

Rim diameter: 18,4 cm; base diameter: 12 cm; height: 38,4 cm.

Clay: dense, lot of lime, quartz and other mineral inclusions, a lot of mica; clay colour: reddish brown; surface colour: brown, vertically burnished.

36

Area b, tomb 20, locus 46

Rounded base, slightly curved body wall, out-turning rim with rounded lip, just below the rim a horizontal groove on the inside, another one on the outer surface.

Rim diameter: 22 cm; height: 34,2 cm.

Clay: quite dense, high amount of fine mica, some chaff holes; clay colour: light brown; surface colour: beige to reddish brown, burnished.

37

Area b, tomb 20, locus 46

Small long stem with concave shaped base, tulip-shaped

upper part with nearly straight body walls and tapered lip.

Rim diameter: 18,7 cm; stem: 4 cm; height: 26,7 cm.

Clay: quite dense, high amount of fine mica, some chaff holes; clay colour: brown; surface colour: brown, vertically burnished, along the rim horizontally burnished.

38

Area b, tomb 20, locus 46

Standing vessel with a bigger diameter at the base, incurving body walls and nearly straight rim section, rounded lip.

Rim diameter: 8,5 cm; base diameter: 16,7 cm; height: 16,7 cm.

Clay: quite dense, high amount of fine mica, some chaff holes; clay colour: reddish beige; surface colour: whitish beige, perhaps self-slip.

39

Area b, locus 0

Flat bowl with nearly straight body walls, rim thickened and rounded, on the outer surface below the rim a horizontal groove.

Rim diameter: 13 cm.

Clay: very dense, fine, without visible inclusions; clay colour: beige; surface: black slip.

40

Area d, tomb 30/31, locus 5

Flat bowl with nearly straight rim section above a carination, in the upper part it is a wavy rim, lip broken, along the carination a protruding pointed ridge regularly pierced, between the holes fragments of two little birds.

Clay: very dense, some mica and quartz inclusions, few chaff holes; clay colour: beige brown; surface colour: light beige.

41

Area b, tomb 28, locus 34

Straight rim section, in the upper part it is a wavy rim, at the lower part a protruding pointed ridge regularly pierced, between the holes just few remains of one little bird.

Clay: very dense, some mica and quartz inclusions, few chaff holes; clay colour: beige brown; surface colour: light beige.

42

Area b, locus 32

Body fragment with application, little bird with abstractly shaped head, tail and two wings.

2,5 × 1,8 cm; height: 1 cm.

Clay: very dense, little mica, few chaff holes; clay colour: beige; surface colour: whitish beige.

43

Area b, locus 0

Flat handle, broken on both sides, on the handle an applied little bird with closed wings.

Preserved length: 4,1 cm.

Clay: very dense, little mica, few chaff holes; clay colour: beige brown; surface colour: light beige.

44

Area a, locus 0

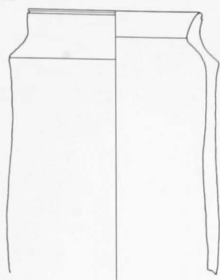
Deep bowl with nearly straight body walls and rim section, pointed lip.

Rim diameter: 14 cm.

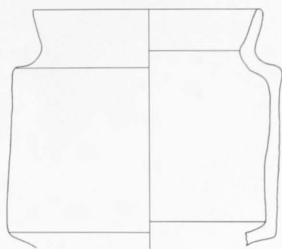
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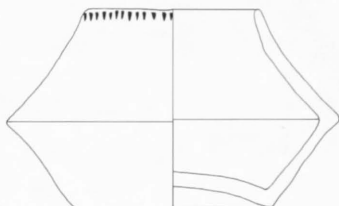
*Dr. Sarah Japp, Neue Schönhauser Str. 14,
D-10178 Berlin, sarahjapp@aol.com*



Cat. 1



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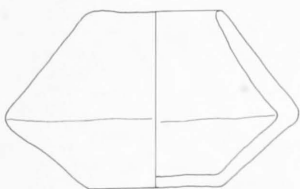
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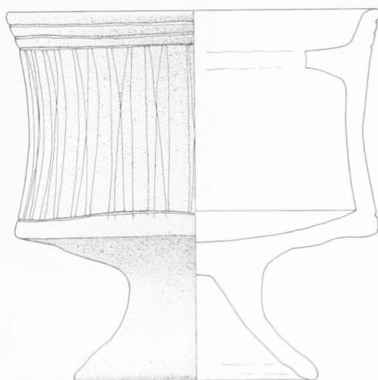
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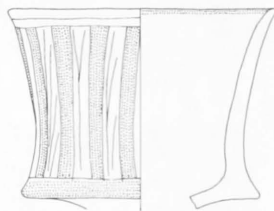
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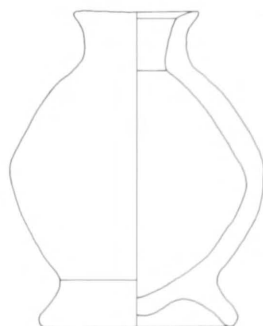
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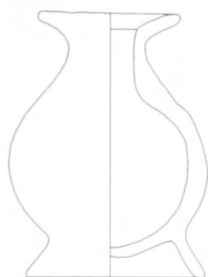
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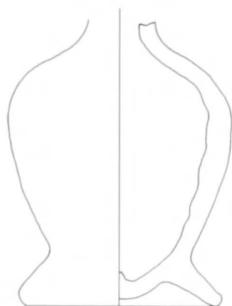
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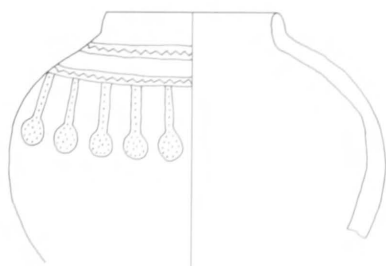
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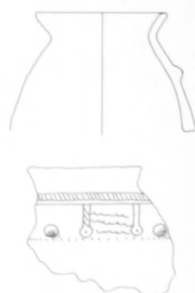
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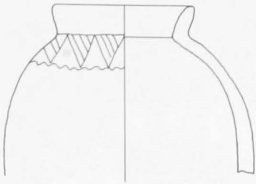
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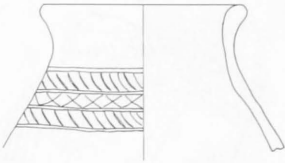
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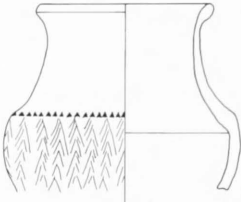
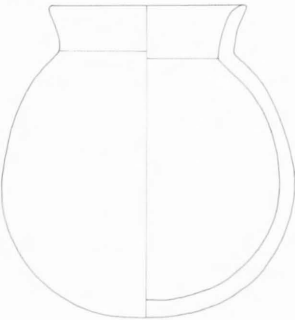
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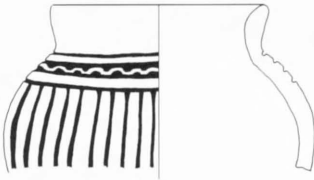
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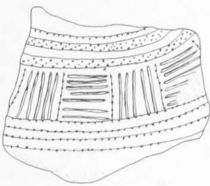
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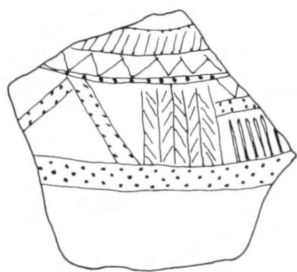
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Cat. 22



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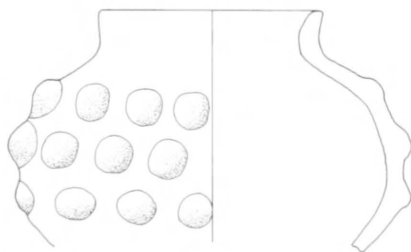
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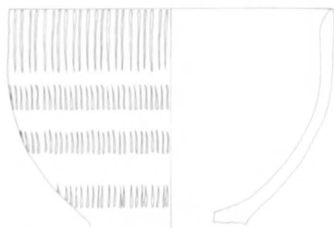
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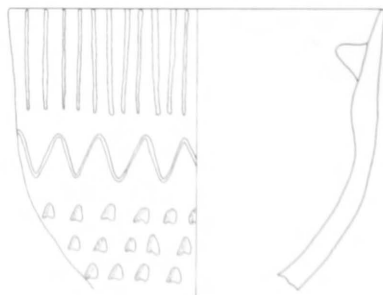
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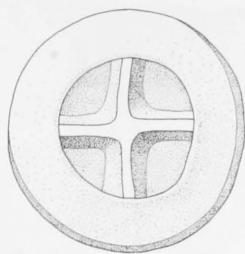
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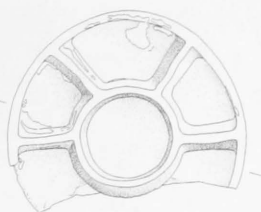
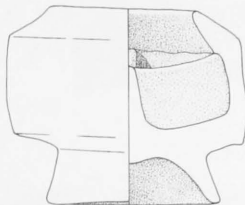
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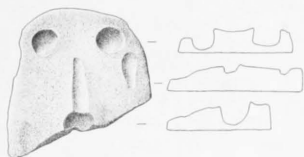
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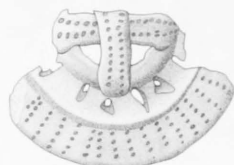
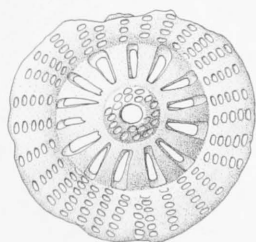
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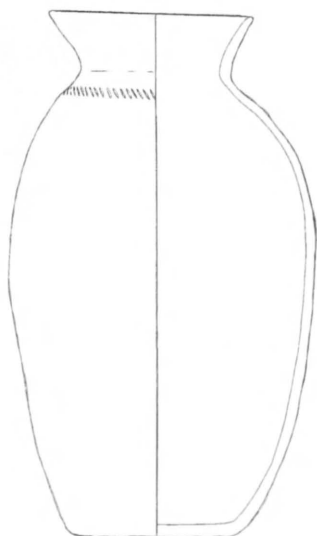
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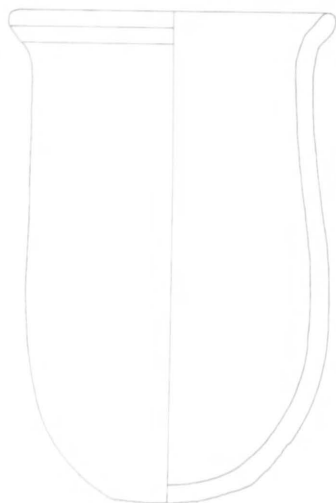
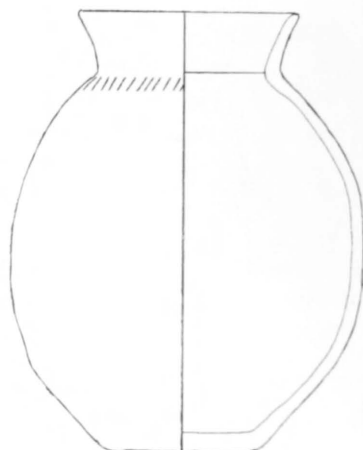
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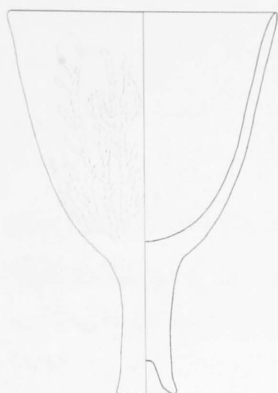


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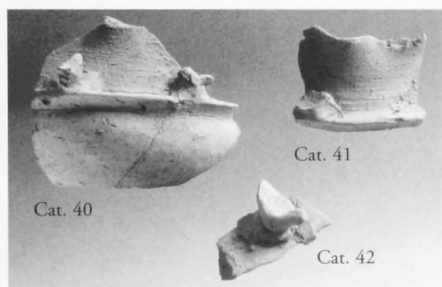
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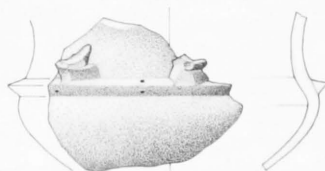
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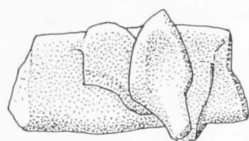
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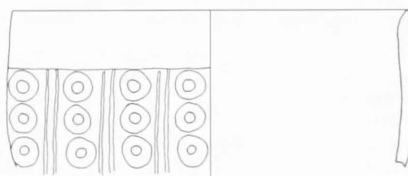
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• مختارات من فخاريات مقبرة معبد أوام بمأرب

ملاحظات حول تاريخها ومصدرها

سارة يّب

(Sarah Japp)

ملخص:

ظهرت أثناء الحفريات في مقبرة معبد أوام بمأرب إلى جانب الأشكال المصغرة للأواني الخزفية أيضا أجزاء لاحتصر لها من الأواني الفخارية ذات الأحجام العادية. وبالأستعانة بأشكال مميزة نود هنا أن نحدد إطارا للتسلسل الزمني لهذه الأواني الخزفية.

من أقدم القطع التي تم استخراجها من المقبرة لأباريق ذات سطح ناعم مصقول وذات ثنية واضحة في الكتف (كتالوج رقم 1-2) وكذلك الأواني ذات الازدواج المخروطي (كتالوج رقم 3 - 4) والكؤوس ذات القاعدة المرتفعة (كتالوج رقم 5 - 6). وإذا ما حكمنا بناء على المقارنات فقد نشأت هذه الأواني بين القرنين العاشر والخامس قبل الميلاد.

بيد أن الجزء الأكبر من خزفيات المقبرة يعود إلى الفترة ما بين القرن السابع والقرن الخامس قبل الميلاد. ومن بين ذلك الأباريق ذات الشكل للطربيدي (كتالوج 9 - 14) ، وهو شكل سبني أصيل. وتستوعب بعض الأباريق الباقية الانتباه بسبب الفخرفة غير المعتادة (كتالوج رقم 15 - 21 و 24 - 25).

ومن المحتمل أن يكون العدد القليل أعمالا مستوردة. غير أنه لم يمكن حتى الآن أن نجد متشابهها من منطقة لكسوم إلا لنوع واحد من الفخرفة (كتالوج 22 - 23). ومما يمثل هذه الفترة الزمنية كذلك الأواني المتعددة الفراغات (كتالوج رقم 28 - 31).

وهناك مجموعة لم تمس تم العثور عليها في قاع أحد القبور ، وهي تتكون من عدة أباريق نحيفة وغيرها منتقخة وأشكال أخرى من الأواني (كتالوج رقم 34 - 38). وتشير القطع المشابهة إلى التأريخ الزمني في النصف الثاني من القرن الأول قبل الميلاد. وثمة مادة قليلة ترجع إلى الفترة مابين القرن الرابع والقرن الأول قبل الميلاد ، وتمثلها صحن وطواجن ذات حواف متموجة كانت تزينها في الغالب أيضا طيور مجسمة كالأمثلة التي عثر عليها في مأرب.

Edward J. Keall

PLACING AL-MIDAMMAN IN TIME. THE WORK OF THE CANADIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL MISSION ON THE TĪHĀMA COAST, FROM THE NEOLITHIC TO THE BRONZE AGE

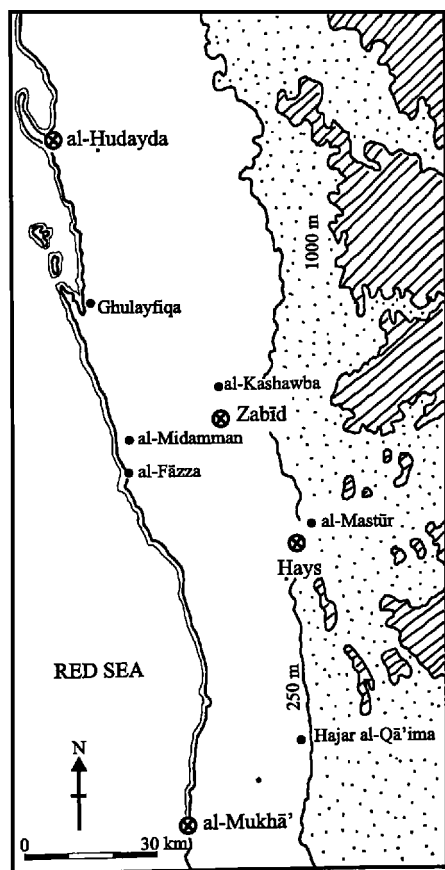


Fig. 1 Relationship of sites in the area of Zabīd

THE CANADIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL MISSION OF THE ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM

The funded mandate of the current field explorations of the Canadian Archaeological Mission of the Royal Ontario Museum in Yemen is a focus on environmental issues¹. The overall purpose is to gain an appreciation in the study area of the different ways in which people adapted to changing climatic and ecological conditions. The study area is based in the Tihāma, centred on Zabīd (Fig. 1), and reaches from Bayt al-Faḡīh in the north, to Ḥays in the south, and from the Red Sea coast in the west to the foothills of the Ṣurāt highlands in the east. The time period targeted encompasses the entire Holocene – roughly the last 12 000 years.

The work of the March–April 2001 field season has added significantly to the breadth of the Project's scope, in terms of the range of time involved, and in the varieties of cultures identified. Presented here are these new facts, along with a

¹ The Canadian Archaeological Mission of the Royal Ontario Museum operates in Yemen under a licence from the General Organization for Antiquities, Manuscripts and Museums, Dr. Yusuf 'Abdullah, President. Funding for the work described here has been received from the Royal Ontario Museum, the Royal Ontario Museum Foundation, and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. A three-year award by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada was made in 1999 to the main applicant Keall, along with the cited collaboration of I. Hehmeyer, in support of »The changing ecology of Southern Arabia in the Holocene.«

digest of the various other settlement patterns we have documented so far in our study area, which allows for them to be part of this overall relative chronology. It must be admitted openly that we still lack a firm chronology for anything except the medieval Islamic phases. It is, then, in the open spirit of the *Rencontres Sabéennes* that these hypotheses are presented here, so that others may be aware of what is coming to light. The person benefitting most from the presentation will be the writer himself, since he expects a profitable dialogue with those interested in these special topics.

EXCAVATION AND EXPLORATION PROGRAM IN AND AROUND THE CITY, AND IN THE WĀDĪ ZABĪD DISTRICT

For the first decade of the Mission's program in Yemen, attention was directed towards investigating different aspects of Zabīd's Islamic past². Not only was Zabīd a still-thriving settlement with an interesting architectural heritage, but it was a place whose fame as a medieval university city gave it special status in the cultural heritage of Yemen³. Important discoveries were made. Perhaps one of the most significant of them was the exposure of an inscription inside the Citadel Mosque. It revealed that the 16th century figure of Iskandar Mawz was responsible for major repairs to what was originally a much older mosque, lending credence to the hypothesis that the original building dated to the 14th century⁴. More importantly, the inscription declared support for a religious college in Iskandar's name, listing specific tracts of irrigated farmland to provide income to sustain the institution⁵. The discovery served to underline the idea that it was Zabīd's irrigation-based agricultural productivity that served as the economic support for its culture, rather than overseas trade.

Earlier studies in the Wādī Zabīd, where the wide flood-course had exposed a vertical cross-section of sediments built up through years of spate irrigation⁶, had documented up to 11 m of accumulated deposit. Using the now generally accepted measure of an average accumulation of 1 cm per year for flood-deposited sediments⁷, we arrive at a figure in this case of eleven centuries. Since Zabīd was first founded in the early 9th century, the bot-

tom layer of the sediments can credibly be judged to correspond to the historical beginnings of Zabīd. The question one must naturally ask, then, is what evidence is there for artificial irrigation in the Wādī Zabīd before the 9th century? This has led, also, to the search for information about patterns of land use from even before Islam, from the Neolithic and earlier. Obviously, in order to establish what these patterns were, one must have a reasonable sense of where each of the activities can be placed in time relative to one another, even though there are few precisely fixed horizons. Such clues as we have to create a rough chronological framework will be presented here, along with a description of the pre-Islamic remains that have been documented in the study area.

THE STANDING STONES OF AL-MĪDAMMAN

Until 1997, apart from the survey recording of a single, though large pre-Islamic site just north of

² For the broad scope of the investigation into the Islamic period remains, from the beginning of the Project in 1982, see E. J. Keall, *Archäologie in der Tihamah. Die Forschungen der Kanadischen Archäologischen Mission des Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, in Zabīd und Umgebung, Jemen-Report 30* no. 1, 1999, 27–32.

³ Ibidem; E. J. Keall, *Les fouilles de la mission archéologique canadienne*, in: P. Bonnenfant (ed.), *Zabīd, patrimoine mondial. Saba, Arts – Littérature – Histoire – Arabie méridionale 5/6* (1999) 19–23; idem, *Canadian Archaeological Museum of the Royal Ontario Museum in Yemen, Al-Musnad 1* no. 1, 2001, 93–92 (sic).

⁴ Idem, *The Syrian Origins of Yemen's National Mosque Style*, in: M. Fortin (ed.), *Recherches canadiennes sur la Syrie antique. Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies, Bulletin 36. Actes du colloque annuel de la société canadienne des études mésopotamiennes, Québec 2000* (2001) 221.

⁵ E. J. Keall – I. Hehmeyer, *Sponsorship of a Madrasa, Reflecting the Value of Farmland in the Urban Economy of Zabīd, Yemen, Al-'Uṣūr al-Wuṣṭā 10*, 1998, 35; and E. J. Keall, *The Words on the Wall at Al-Iskandariyya, Rotunda 31/3*, 1999, 23–24.

⁶ Keall – Hehmeyer, *Sponsorship a.O. 34*; I. Hehmeyer – E. J. Keall, *Water and Land Management in the Zabīd Hinterland, Al-'Uṣūr al-Wuṣṭā 5*, 1993, 26.

⁷ A figure of 1.1 cm for an average annual sediment accumulation is cited in U. Brunner, *Jemen. Vom Weihrauch zum Erdöl* (1999) 51.

Zabīd⁸, early settlement sites proved to be elusive. This changed dramatically in 1997 with the unexpected discovery of a site of standing megalithic stones at al-Midamman, just inland from the Red Sea coast⁹. Two seasons of excavation have been completed, together with a preliminary geomorphological study of the overall site area which is defined by a triangular space roughly 3 km to a side (Fig. 2).

The region is badly deflated, with the present ground surface scoured in part by the wind to a level below that of the ancient landscape¹⁰. In other areas there are recent sand dunes which cover the ancient ground. The deflation is both a blessing and a curse. We have recovered from the deflated surface significant artifacts that might otherwise not have been found, but they are largely removed from their original context. Worse, they can be mixed with others from more recent times. However, particularly since the second season of exploration (in 2000), there are now a sufficient number of artifacts that have been excavated in formal trench work, so that we may at least begin to associate them with different building activities. This rough artifact typology is our first step in the attempt to establish a site chronology. It should be quickly emphasized that no incontestably firm dates can be produced here. We still rely heavily for our rough chronology upon typological comparisons of the artifacts with those from the work of others, such as W. Phillips, A. Sedov, B. Vogt, and J. Zarins. Since the chronology is still tentative in the extreme, I avoid the term 'Period/Phase', preferring 'Activity/Facet (of activity)', as the appropriate way to present our preliminary findings. While no attempt is made here to give precise dates for each of the different facets of activity, the overall cultural record of the site is listed here in rough chronological order, earliest first, as follows:

ACTIVITY I. ARABIAN BIFACIAL TRADITION

An ephemeral presence defined by the surface recovery of stone projectile points and scrapers produced in the 'Arabian Bifacial Tradition'¹¹. These would normally be defined as belonging to a Neolithic culture, say, from before 4000 B.C.¹².

ACTIVITY II. ERA OF THE STANDING STONES

This is the first monumental phase of the site. It is clear that a variety of stone types are involved; at least five types have been documented from a

⁸ The site was originally reported in 1983 simply as 'Gas Station', because the site lay behind a then newly constructed petrol station (*mahatta*) alongside the Zabīd highway, but did not otherwise have a local place name. The site was still referred to as STN (Gas Station) in C. Ciuk – E. J. Keall, *Zabid Pottery Manual* 1995. Pre-Islamic and Islamic Ceramics from the Zabid Area, North Yemen. BAR International Series 655, 1996, 4. – Confusion resulting from others using different terms for 'Gas Station', like 'Petrol Station' and 'Filling Station' has prompted adoption of the name al-Kashawba. Muhammad al-Kashawba is the name of the filling station owner, and those seeking the site should ask for Mahattat al-Kashawba.

For the pottery from al-Kashawba described in E. J. Keall, *The Dynamics of Zabid and its Hinterland: the Survey of a Town on the Tihamah Plain of North Yemen*, *World Archaeology* 14, 1983, 385, and fig. 5, 1, the best comparison was G. Lankester Harding, *Archaeology in the Aden Protectorates* (1964) 20, and pl. 7, 78, for which a 5th–6th century B.C. date was suggested for pottery from Ṣābir. Keall's proposed 1st–2nd century A.D. date was largely derived through guesswork, and the thought that, in terms of technology, it did not seem to differ greatly from that of the early Islamic pottery in the area of Zabīd. This notion, of course, has since proven to be completely false, see Ciuk – Keall, *Zabid Pottery Manual* op. cit. 11 f. pl. 1–10, where a likely mid-2nd to mid-1st millennium B.C. date for this material is suggested.

⁹ E. J. Keall, *Encountering Megaliths on the Tihamah Coastal Plain of Yemen*, *PSAS* 28, 1998, 139–147; idem, *Changing Settlement along the Red Sea Coast of Yemen in the Bronze Age*, in: P. Matthiae et al. (ed.), *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, Rome 1998 (2000) 719.

¹⁰ E. J. Keall, *Gone with the Wind. Erosion Makes Dating Difficult*, *Rotunda* 32 no. 1, 1999, 6.

¹¹ No definitive study of these finds has been presented in print, but the Project's Lithic specialist has referred to this material in passing, as belonging to the 'Arabian Bifacial Tradition', cf. *Geometric microliths of Yemen – Arabian Precursors, African Connections* cf. D. Rahimi, *Parting the Red Sea. Holocene Interactions between Northeastern Africa and Arabia*, Paper presented at Society for American Archaeology, 66th Annual Meeting, April 2001, New Orleans. Reference to a 'Neolithic technology' present in these stray surface finds that can be attributed to the 'Arabian Bifacial Tradition' is also made, courtesy of Rahimi, by Keall, *Encountering Megaliths* op. cit. 720. 725.

¹² For recent archaeological developments in Southwest Arabia during the holocene see: C. Edens – T. J. Wilkinson, *Journal of World Prehistory* 12 no. 1, 1998, 63–68.

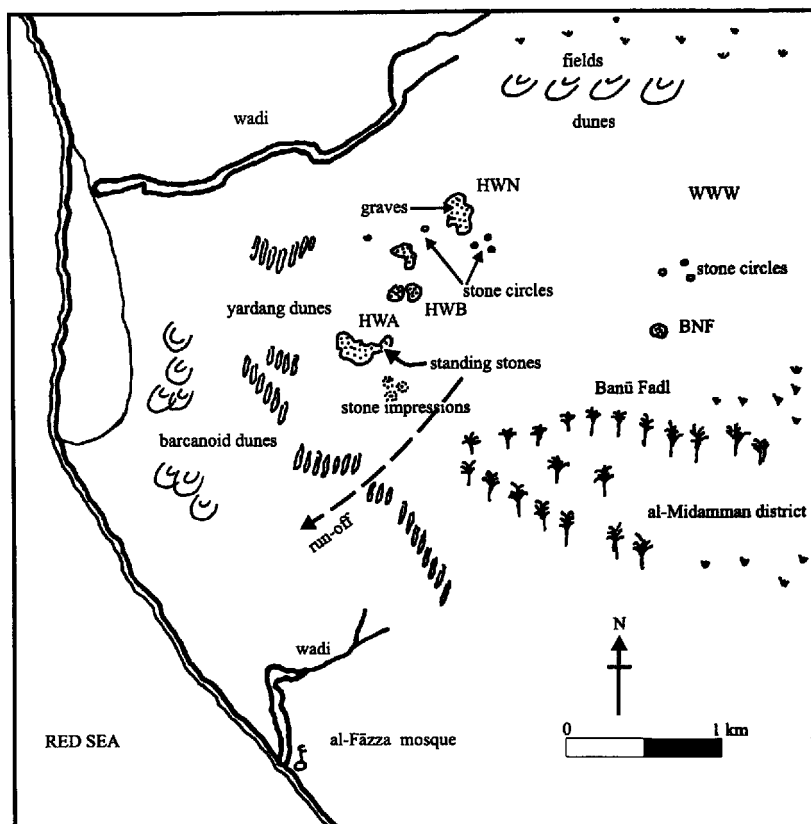


Fig. 2 Sites in the area of al-Midamman

casual sampling¹³. These include granite, rhyolite, rhyolitic tuff, basalt, and sandstone. While more analytical work would be needed to determine their actual original sources, it is self-evident that all the stone has been hauled from a considerable distance away. The nearest foothills are 40 km distant (Fig. 1); the columnar basalt must have come from at least twice that distance. The different physical characteristics of the natural stone tended to suggest, at first, different phases of activity. Two sub-phases may eventually be discerned, but no separation in time for the different facets of cultural expression has yet been defined. Whether individually placed as menhirs, or set up in some kind of alignment, these stone markers may only be attributed in general to a time when commemorative markers were an important cul-

tural expression. The larger standing stones are best called here megaliths; the naturally slender pieces of columnar basalt are best referred to, for distinction, as (natural) pillars. Although pillars were sometimes found largely isolated, they were also found in conjunction with the megaliths, so no clear-cut distinction can as yet be made. The order of Activity-Facets II A–D is only hypothetical.

¹³ É. G. Desjardine – R. B. Mason – E. J. Keall, A 'New' Megalithic Culture from Yemen. Pottery and Stone Characterisation by Petrographic Analysis, Paper presented at 32nd Archaeometry Symposium, Mexico City, 2000.

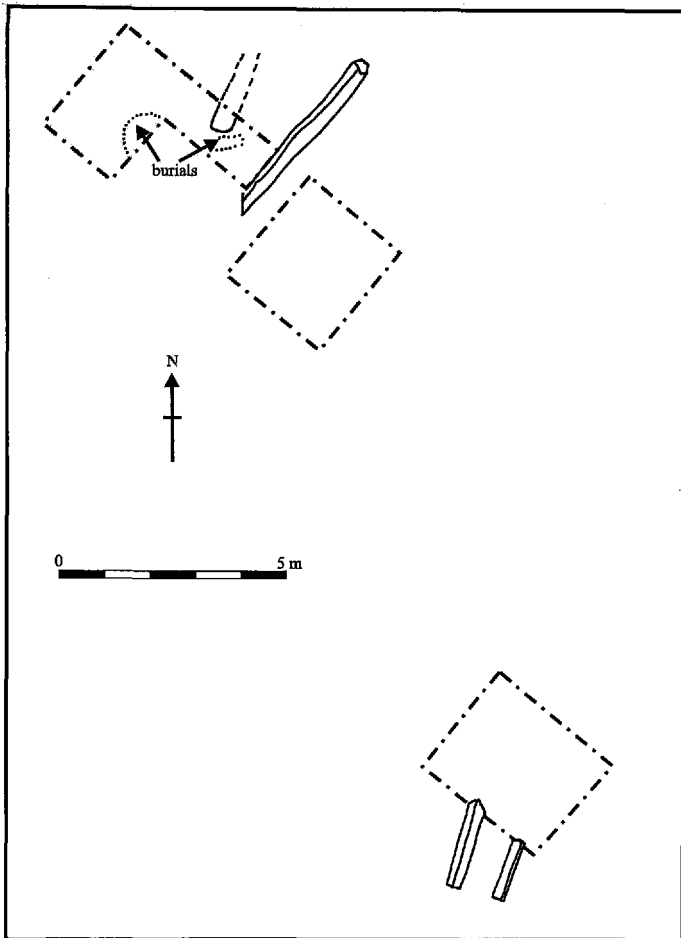


Fig. 3 Pillars with infant burials (site HWA)

**Facet II A. Pillars with Infant Burials
(site HWA)**

The evidence is firm that certain pillars were once set up with infants buried beneath them, yet without burial goods (Fig. 3). Sacrificial internment is not out of the question. The traces are ephemeral, however, because of later use of the stone pillars for other purposes.

**Facet II B. Megaliths with Metal and Obsidian
Cache (site HWB)**

The megaliths appear to form some kind of alignment. A plausible interpretation is that this alignment is towards the setting sun in mid-winter, which also corresponds with the sun's setting behind the southern tip of the highly visible Zuqar island.

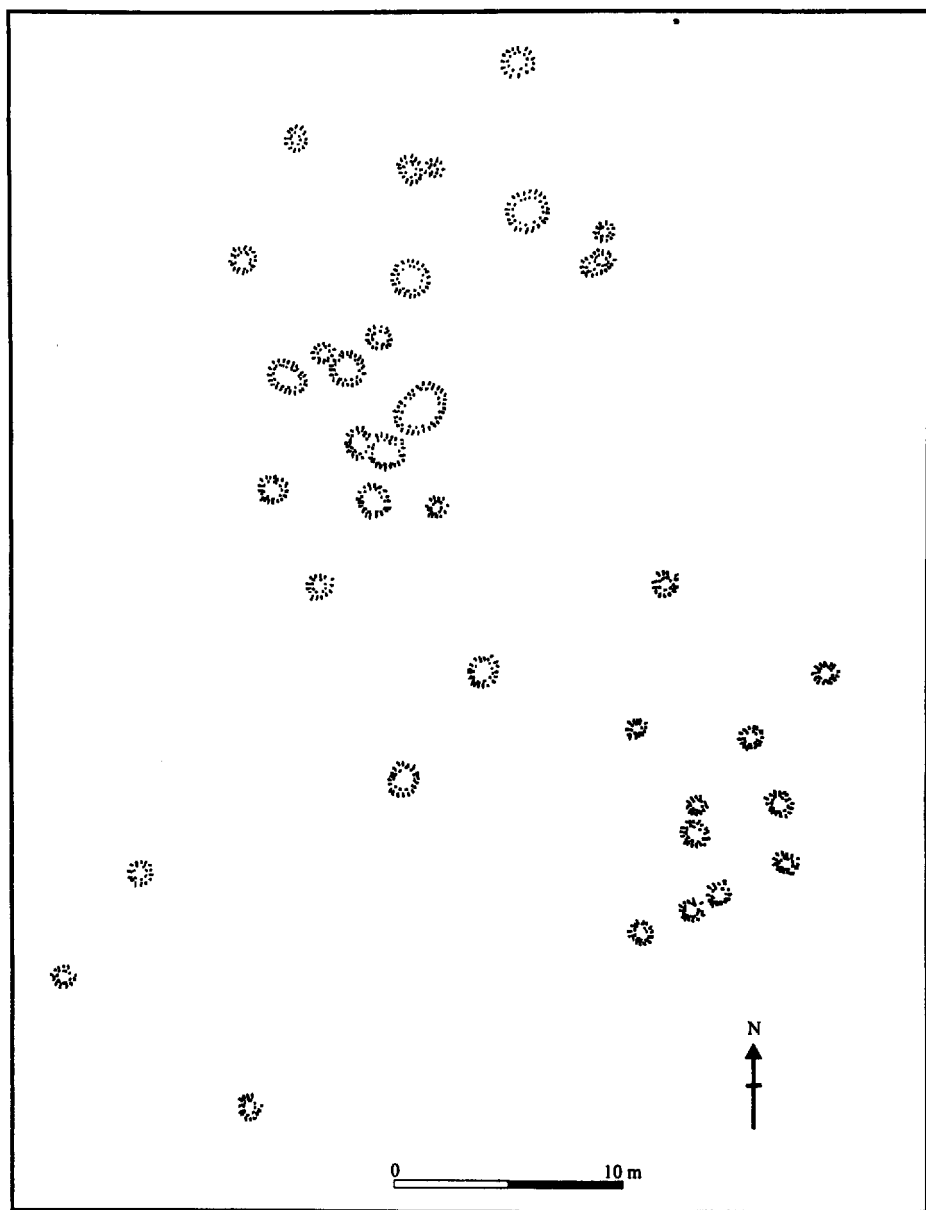


Fig. 4 Impressions of standing stones (site HWB)

The unearthing of a deliberately buried cache of metal tools (grouped around a large core of obsidian)¹⁴ provides the crucial date of between ca. 2400–1800 B.C. for the setting up of the megaliths. The date is based upon a comparison of the metallography of the tools, as derived from instrumental analysis¹⁵. Other items that can be judged to have been deliberately interred in this setting include a variety of grinding stones. A modeled ceramic bull's head, now detached from the original vessel, is an important cultural indicator – but it is not much use as a chronological indicator, because its broken nature (detached from a vessel) may mean that it is displaced from its original context.

Facet II C. Cluster of Stone Impressions (site HWB)

Numerous stones of rhyolite or tuff were once set up in a cluster, though it is not clear whether this represented some kind of alignment (Fig. 4). All of these standing stones have been removed at a later time, for re-use elsewhere in the area of the site. Their position is marked by shallow impressions in the ground, surrounded by spalled stone¹⁶. No burial activity has been recorded.

Facet II D. Adult Burial (site HWA)

The lower portion of an adult male in flexed position¹⁷ was recovered from a context where the burial was set beneath a commemorative stone of rhyolite. No grave goods were recovered.

ACTIVITY III. MONUMENTAL BUILDINGS AND GRAVES

The second monumental phase of the site is represented by stone buildings and stone-lined graves. A different construction technique used for one of three buildings suggests two different sub-phases.

Facet III A. Stone-lined Graves (site HWN)

Stone-lined graves were built using (hypothetically) re-used standing stones (Fig. 5). The ceramic grave goods of whole vessels are generally comparable to those of the Ma'ayba/Šabir assemblages¹⁸. On that basis, the al-Midamman vessels may be attributed to somewhere between 13th–9th century B.C.

Facet III B. Partitioned Buildings (sites HWA, BNF)

Two rectilinear buildings were constructed with foundation walls employing either roughly broken granite or largely intact basaltic and rhyolitic pillars. The stone used for building the walls above ground is of roughly dressed rhyolite¹⁹. Partitions of mud-brick divide the interior space into narrow aisles and hypothetically were foundation benches for wooden post roof-supports (Fig. 6. 7). An immediate loose parallel for this kind of arrangement can be found in Burned Building V at Šabir, dated to the end-2nd/beginning-1st millennium B.C.²⁰.

Facet III C. Decorated Facing Stone (site HWA)

A monumental structure of poorly defined layout, apart from two long intersecting walls, consisting of roughly dressed rhyolite building blocks (Fig. 8). A trace of mud-brick suggests an interior partition. Highly significant are some finely dressed facing stones, and a few pieces of shallowly carved facade decoration. The decorations are readily paralleled in the Jawf, where temples of the Ma'īnian culture bearing this kind of decoration have been attributed dates of the 8th century B.C.²¹. However, Lundin suggests that one of the inscriptions from

¹⁴ Keall, *Encountering Megaliths* op. cit. fig. 8; idem, *Do You Want to See the Stones?*, Rotunda 30 no. 2, 1997, 14 (fig.).

¹⁵ A. Giunla-Mair et al., *Copper-based Implements of a Newly Identified Culture in Yemen*, *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 1, 1999, 38.

¹⁶ Keall, *Stones*, op. cit. 16 (fig. r.).

¹⁷ *Ibidem* 18 (fig.).

¹⁸ V. Buffa – B. Vogt, *Sabir – Cultural Identity between Saba and Africa*, in: R. Eichmann – H. Parzinger (ed.), *Migration und Kulturtransfer, Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 6, Berlin 1999 (2001) 439; B. Vogt – A. V. Sedov, *Die Sabir-Kultur und die jemenitische Küstenebene in der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, in: W. Seipel (ed.), *Jemen, Kunst und Archäologie im Land der Königin von Saba*, *Exhibition Cat. Vienna* (1998) 144–151 (fig.).

¹⁹ Keall, *Encountering Megaliths* op. cit. fig. 8; idem, *Changing Settlement* op. cit. fig. 4 (plan).

²⁰ Vogt – Sedov, op. cit. 131 f. (fig.).

²¹ J.-F. Breton – J.-C. Arramond – G. Robine, *Le Temple de 'Athtar d'As-Sawdā'* (1990) 22 (fig.); J.-F. Breton, *Der 'Athtar-Tempel von as-Sawdā'* (dem antiken Nashshān), in: Seipel op. cit. 216; A. Fakhry, *An Archaeological Journey to Yemen, March–May 1947 I–III* (1952) fig. 99. 100.

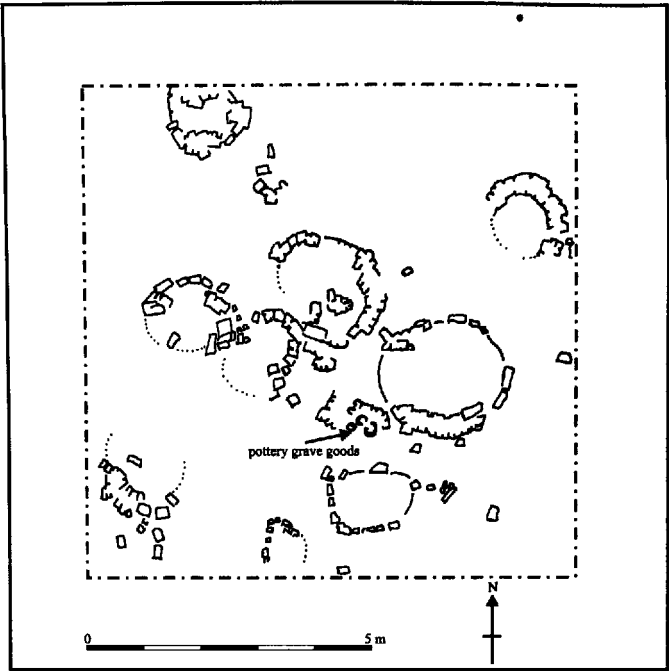


Fig. 5 Stone-lined graves (site HWN)

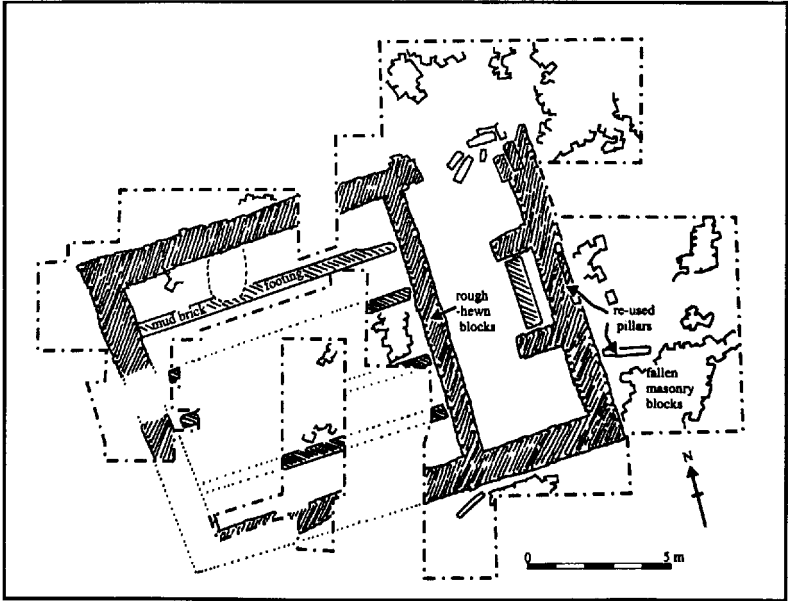


Fig. 6 Stone building (site HWA, Building A)

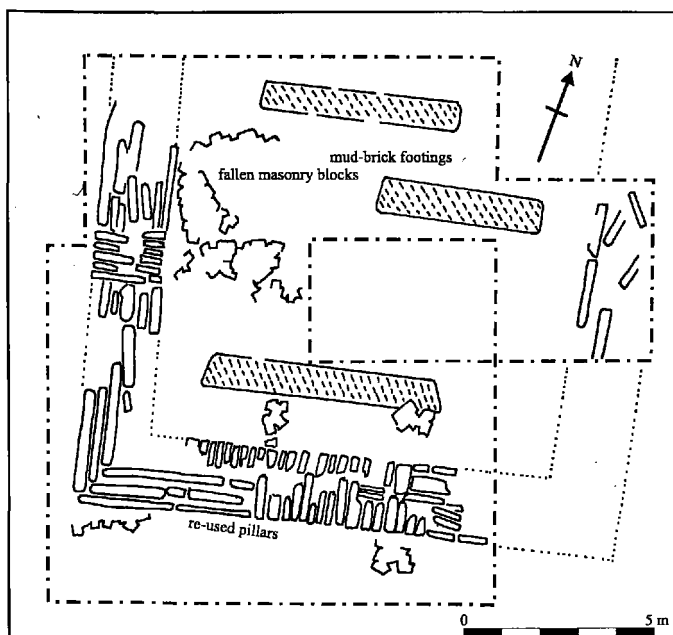


Fig. 7 Stone building (site BNF)

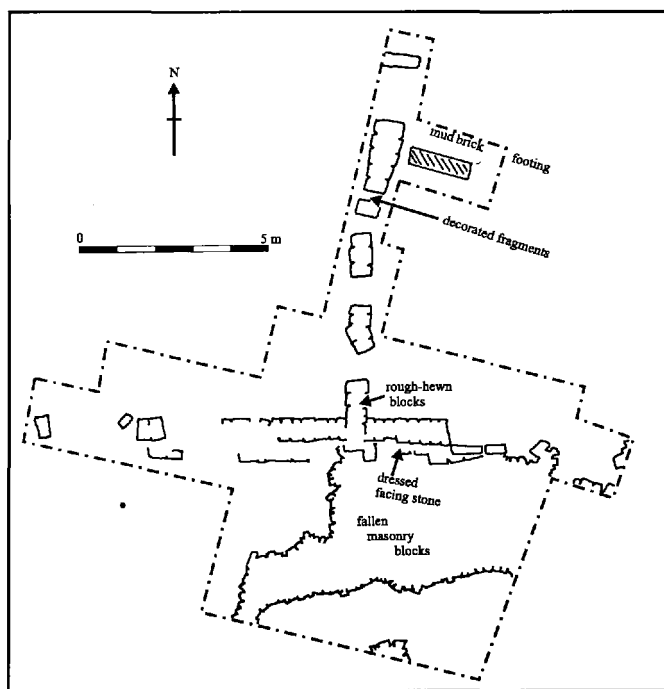


Fig. 8 Stone building (site HWA, Building B)

the temples in question can be assigned a date towards the end of the 2nd millennium B.C.²²

ACTIVITY IV. DOMESTIC SETTLEMENT (SITE HWB)

Traces of a domestic settlement of ephemeral structures, made (hypothetically) from palm fronds, is indicated mainly by the survival of hearths set some distance downwind from the flimsy, and easily combusted structures. Some of the hearths have been excavated, but no other substantial features have been found. The richest recovery comes from surface finds. The kind of occupation represented is reflected in the recovery of ceramics²³, obsidian microliths, copper tools²⁴, and grindstones. Grinding stones point to food production, as do many of the traits visible in the ceramic vessels. The pottery is paralleled by the Ma'layba/Šabir corpus, with a corresponding date (as with the graves) of ca. 13th–9th century B.C.²⁵. The appearance of signs scratched before firing on a ceramic cover²⁶, which seem to be either pictograms, proto-alphabetic script, or a combination of both, fit reasonably within the suggested date range²⁷.

The obsidian lithics can be associated with a microlithic tradition that is more easily paralleled elsewhere, outside of the Tihāma, particularly with finds recorded in Africa²⁸. A 2nd–1st millennium B.C. date is proposed. Analysis of the copper cache from the megalithic site has been judged to be dated between 2400–1800 B.C.²⁹, and fragments recovered from the site surface have produced a finger-print that is comparable to that of the main cache³⁰. But, given a possibility of the 8th century B.C. for the decorated building described under Activity III B, a more recent date for the general assemblage of copper implements is not out of the question.

ACTIVITY V. FIRE-CRACKED STONE CIRCLES (SITES HWN, WWW)

Enigmatic circles of stone, fragmented through contact with fire, have been documented sporadically but consistently right across the study area. Their widespread occurrence suggests that they

have something to do with land use. It is apparent that a small block of stone (generally rhyolite) was set above a fire which caused it to fragment. The cracked stone bears discoloration due to the fire. Beneath the cracked stone can be observed a carbon-rich deposit³¹. Unfortunately, these deposits do not contain charcoal. This is consistent with the use of date palm as a fuel – it has been observed that little charcoal remains after the burning of a palm. Fragments of grindstones are often also associated with these enigmatic fire-cracked stone circles, for which one may resort to the vague term »commemorative marker« for an explanation of their use.

ACTIVITY VI. MOLLUSC MIDDENS AND SCATTERS OF TEREBRALIA SHELLS

The widespread presence of scattered marine Terebralia shells across the site was at first misleading. It gave the impression that there had once been an inland lagoon³² – reinforced by the notion imparted by the report of the earlier Italian Mission in the area that the coastline had been as much as 10 km inland during the Neolithic³³. However, both ideas are false. In the case of al-Midamman, all

²² A. G. Lundin, *Der Ursprung des südarabischen Alphabets*, *Mare Erythraeum* 1, 1997, 14.

²³ Keall, *Encountering Megaliths* op. cit. fig. 9. 10.

²⁴ Keall, *Stones* op. cit. 15 (fig.); Giunla-Mair et al. op. cit. fig. 2. 4.

²⁵ Cf. Activity III A above, and n. 18.

²⁶ Keall, *Encountering Megaliths* op. cit. fig. 10 b.

²⁷ See Buffa – Vogt op. cit. 437, for reference to the 12th century B.C. beginnings of South Arabian script. – Lundin, op. cit. 14, refers to the origins of the script in Syria/Palestine in the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C., and its establishment in Yemen by the end of the millennium.

²⁸ The African hypothesis was convincingly presented as Geometric microliths of Yemen. *Arabian Precursors, African Connections* by Rahimi op. cit. (n. 11).

²⁹ Cf. n. 15.

³⁰ A. Giunla-Mair et al., *Investigation of a Copper-based Hoard from the Megalithic Site of al-Midamman, Yemen: an Interdisciplinary Approach*, *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 29, 2002, 198.

³¹ Keall, *Stones* op. cit. (n. 14) 16 (fig. 1).

³² Keall, *Changing Settlement* op. cit. (n. 9) 726.

³³ M. Tosi, *Archaeological Activities in the Yemen Arab Republic 5. Tihama Coastal Archaeology Survey*, EW 35, 1985, 365.

the mature *Terebralia* shells show signs of their having been harvested for use. The tip has in every case been broken off – an action that detaches the anchoring muscle and allows the meat to be extracted. The harvested *Terebralia* were clearly treated this way in discrete quantities, exploited one basket at a time, not at a central midden site. Once discarded, these small quantities were easily scattered across the landscape by the actions of surface water movement and the passing of herded animals. In one part of the site, towards the eastern side, small discrete middens of clam shells were recorded.

Terebralia shells with the distinctively broken tip apparent have been recorded in deep bands of alluvium visible in exposed sections of the sand-cliffs at the coast, 2 km distant. The implications are that there were once periodic floods sufficiently strong to carry sediments as far as the coast. This observation has extremely important implications for establishing dates for the occupation of the site.

A WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY FOR SETTLEMENT AT THE COAST IN THE BRONZE AGE

The obscure environmental phenomenon of discarded sea-shells being washed by flood water as far as the coast can be seen to contribute something significant to the debate about the site's chronology. From T. Wilkinson's observations about settlement patterns and land-use in the Yemeni Highlands during the Bronze Age³⁴, it is apparent that the combination of a drying climate in conjunction with large population growth resulting from earlier more moist times had disastrous environmental consequences. It is significant for interpretation of the al-Midamman sites that Wilkinson argues that significant soil erosion in the highlands commenced around 3000 B.C.³⁵, just before the time of our main activities at the coast.

One may infer that, in time, stability was brought to the highland landscape by terracing, and by setting in place checks and balances to trap surface water and retard run-off, for irrigation farming. However, until these systems were developed in the highlands, particularly perhaps in response to state-funded capital-investment initiatives, the now over-grazed and deforested hillsides

were an environmental disaster. Surface water ran off unchecked, building to form floods with sufficient strength to reach the coast. Such floods normally only occur to-day perhaps once a century. In the late Bronze Age we may envisage this happening on a regular basis.

The ecological disaster in the Highlands provided an unexpected window of opportunity for settlement at the coast³⁶. It is argued here that the thick bands of alluvium deposited at the coast and bearing harvested *Terebralia* shells represent human activity in the area during the late 3rd–early 1st millennium B.C. The regularly deposited flood sediments could be farmed. When the checks and balances were put in place in the Highlands in the 1st millennium, this window of opportunity at the coast closed.

OUR EARLIEST DOCUMENTED RECORD OF HUMAN SETTLEMENT IN THE THĀMA

In March of 2001, the ROM Project turned its attention to the foothills of the mountains behind the city of Hays, to the narrow valley of the Wādī Fuwayl where an overhanging cliff bears images painted in red ochre on the rock face³⁷. The painted »rock-shelter« of al-Mastūr (Map, Fig. 1) has some 150 metres of rock face that has been used for painting human and animal figures, schematic devices, and symbols, applied by finger in red ochre. In all likelihood they were produced by a single group of people. Admittedly, we face the same dilemma as others in studying rock art around the world, that it is notoriously hard to interpret, and difficult to date. This is particularly true of Yemen where the cultural record has been little studied. The same problems of age, as well as of interpretation – including seeing the representations as pos-

³⁴ T. Wilkinson, Settlement, Soil Erosion and Terraced Agriculture in Highland Yemen: a Preliminary Statement, PSAS 29, 1999, 183–191.

³⁵ Ibidem 189 f.

³⁶ I. Hehmeyer–E.J. Keall, Traditional Water Management Practices in Southern Arabia: Human Dimensions of Global Change: a Mandate for Anthropological Engagement, Paper presented at American Anthropological Association, 99th Annual Meeting, San Francisco, November 2000.

³⁷ E. J. Keall, Rock Art Mystery in Yemen, Rotunda 34 no. 1, 2001, 4.

sible hunters, magicians, story-tellers, deities – are neatly expounded in M. Khan's presentation of painted rock-art from the northern part of the Arabian peninsula³⁸. In the case of al-Mastūr, the greatest enigma is the appearance of an image that gives the impression of an animal-drawn wheeled vehicle. This makes no sense at the moment in the context of the landscape here, for any of the possible time-frames discussed below, whether for an earliest possible date, or for more recent times.

Our figures include humans – literally stick figures, presented frontally, with body, arms, legs and neck, but no defined head depicted. One of the complex drawings suggests a person inside a corral. Another stick figure has bow-legged lower limbs, upper limbs that split into two, and a noticeable protuberance between the legs, presumably a male organ. What is curious, in this regard, is that the other stick figures which lack the protuberance do not have either the usual fertility characteristics of a female figure in ancient art – namely, breasts, wide hips, and a pubic triangle.

Animals, by contrast, are presented in profile. They include the ibex. The modeling of the animals is more robust than that of the human stick figures, but there is nothing to suggest different ages for their production. Other painted designs include schematic devices have been interpreted as hunting traps, adding to the connotation of activity connected with animals. The symbolic devices may best be termed 'wusūm characters'³⁹, implying some kind of personal identity marker. In this case we may have to acknowledge the possibility of domestic animals, with the obvious implications for dating that such a combination would provide.

Excavations beneath the paintings produced microlithic stone tools that belong to the Epipaleolithic tradition of technology (from before 8000 B.C.)⁴⁰. At the end of the valley, a settlement site (al-Hunduba) produced artifacts of a similar technological tradition, although the tool assemblage was different. Circumstantial evidence suggests the lithics and the paintings belong together. As a result, one may associate the two sites to the same human activity – namely hunting or herding. But the Epipaleolithic or even Pre-Pottery Neolithic is an implausibly early date for the paintings, for the use of painted stick figures would not normally be dated much earlier than about 2500 B.C. Yet one must recognise that the attributions of such a date

for other paintings elsewhere in Arabia is equally unfirm. Generally, red-painted stick figures are placed in the 2nd–1st millennia B.C.⁴¹. Since the tool technology from the Wādī Fuwayl is different from – and earlier in tradition than – the Arabian Bifacial Tradition recorded elsewhere in the study area, perhaps we may conclude that the paintings could be at least as old as 4000 B.C. Yet we may also conclude that in this remote valley of the Yemeni foothills, an archaic tradition of stone-tool technology could have survived longer than it may have done elsewhere in Arabia and the Near East⁴².

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF HUMAN ACTIVITY IN THE ZABĪD STUDY AREA, IN THE HOLOCENE

1. Pre- or early Neolithic hunting and/or herding activity in the foothills of the Highlands, accompanied by rock-painting and use of archaic Epipaleolithic tool tradition: ca. 6000–4000 B.C.

³⁸ M. Khan – A.-R. al-Kabawi – A.-R. al-Zahrani, Preliminary Report on the Second Phase of Comprehensive Rock Art and Epigraphic Survey of Northern Province 1405/1985, *Atlat* 10, 1986, 89.

³⁹ Cf. M. A. Nayeem, *The Rock Art of Arabia. Saudi Arabia, Oman, Qatar, the Emirates & Yemen* (2000) 230, 492 (fig.).

⁴⁰ This preliminary identification was made by D. Rahimi, following a cursory examination of a type sample brought back to the Royal Ontario Museum.

⁴¹ A 2nd–1st millennium B.C. date for stylised stick figures in Dhofar is imparted by Nayeem op. cit. 434–447 fig. XX 31–49. Similar red-painted stick figures are illustrated from the area of Ra'da, ibidem 482 fig. XXI 65. Stick figures at Jebel Makhrouq, near Sa'da, in northern Yemen, have been classified as 'Style III' and therefore attributable to the 'Bronze Age' (M.-A. Garcia – M. Rachad, *L'art des origines au Yémen* [1997] 33). Yet the only substantiated date for the Jebel Makhrouq site is a radio-carbon date of ca. 4000 B.C. (M.-A. Garcia et al., *Découvertes préhistoriques au Yémen. Le contexte archéologiques de l'art rupestre de la région de Saada, Comptes rendus de l'Académie des sciences, Série II* 313 [1991] 1206). – In support of an 'early' date one may cite a suggested Chalcolithic attribution (3500–2500 B.C.) for the Northern Province of Saudi Arabia where appropriate comparanda are to be observed, see Khan op. cit. 87.

⁴² For a similar judgement regarding African lithic technology, including that from a site in Eastern Zambia with both red-painted stick figures and backed microliths, especially for the Kalemba cave site, see D. W. Phillipson, *The Prehistory of Eastern Zambia, British Institute in Eastern Africa, Memoir* 6 (1976) 4.

2. Neolithic hunting activity along the coastal plain using the South Arabian Bifacial Tradition of tool technology: ca. 4000–2500 B.C.
3. Bronze Age settlement of al-Midamman near the coast, based on farming the flood deposits: ca. 2500–800 B.C.
4. Substantial late Iron Age-Himyaritic occupation largely absent (at least not traced). Hypothetical presence of pastoralists, based on the fact that Islam was brought to the Tihāma at an early date (presumably because there were people living there), and that soon after this the 'Abbāsīd authorities felt obliged to send a governor »to settle the tribes«⁴³.
5. State-sponsored settlement in the Tihāma documented from the 9th century onwards, beginning with the formal foundation of Zabīd as a city by the military governor Ibn Ziyād, as despatched from 'Abbāsīd Iraq⁴⁴.
6. Investment by local dynasties, especially by the Rasūlids in the 13th–15th centuries, in irrigation agriculture⁴⁵. Textual references to irrigation systems built in the Wādī Zabīd.
7. Earliest written record of the traditional irrigation system documented for the early 16th cen-

tury, but an earlier tradition, at least to the 13th century, implied through the existence of legal rulings regarding water use⁴⁶.

8. Ottoman occupation in the 16th century⁴⁷ and an end to creative investments in new infrastructure; exploitive imperialism.
9. Zabīd marginalized in terms of the Yemeni economy as European trade interests focus increasingly on the port of al-Mukhā' (Mocha). Foreign merchants deal directly with wholesalers in Bayt al-Faqīh for the purchase of coffee⁴⁸.
10. Zabīd still viable as a regional administrative and market centre in the 18th century, but its hey-day as a university city is over. In the 20th century Zabīd seen as a quaint town with an interesting architectural heritage, mostly from the past.

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⁴³ 'Abd al-Muhsin Mad'aj M. al-Mad'aj, *The Yemen in Early Islam. A Political History*, 9-233/630-847 (1988) 208.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem* 209–211.

⁴⁵ I. Hehmyer, *Physical Evidence of Engineered Water Systems in Mediaeval Zabīd*, PSAS 25, 1995, 49.

⁴⁶ N. H. Salamah, *Customary Water-rights in Mediaeval Wādī Zabīd: Some Legal Cases on al-'ādil bi'l-qanā'ah*, PSAS 29, 1999, 138.

⁴⁷ C. G. Brouwer, *Al-Mukhā. Profile of a Yemeni Seaport as Sketched by Servants of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) 1614–1640* (1997) 145–170.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem* 64 f. Brouwer does not specifically mention the resulting financial loss felt by Zabīd, but the detrimental impact can be deduced from the fact that Zabīd was no longer the central focus of economic activity in the region.

تحديد تاريخ المدمن عمل البعثة الأثرية الكندية بساحل تهمامة من العصر الحجري الحديث إلى العصر البرونزي

إدوارد ج. كيل

(Edward J. Keall)

ملخص:

شارك برونسج الآثار البعثة الأثرية الكندية لسنوات عديدة في دراسة منية زيبد الإسلامية الهامة الواقعة على ساحل تهمامة. وفتح اكتشاف القووش المدفونة بداخل مسجد القلعة ، الذي قسر إنتاج الأراضى الزراعية المروية كمستلدة للحدرسمة ، البعثة إلى توجيه عنايتها المتزايدة إلى مسألة التحويل والحصول على مولد لدعم الآثار الحضارية.

وصاحب اهتمام مشابه عمل البعثة بالمدمن حيث يركز الاهتمام على كيفية قدرة الناس على نقل الأحجار المصقمة من الجبال بغرض الاستعمال التفكيرى، وقد تبين أن الزراعة كانت ممكنة في تلك المنطقة الصحراوية في الألف الثاني قبل الميلاد ، وليس ذلك بطريقة الطاقس ، بل لأن الأضرار بالبيئية في الجبال قد تسببت في سيول هائلة على الساحل.

وقد تم توثيق أكثر من العصر الحجري الحديث على الساحل من خلال التعرف على الأعمال الحجرية ذات الوجهين بجقوب بلاد العرب. فمواهد المدمن ترجع إلى حوالي 2400 - 1800 قبل الميلاد بسبب ذخيرة الأدوات من السبائك الحاسوبية والسبيج.

وهناك مرحلة مصرية في الموقع مرتبطة بالغاربات التي يمكن أن تعود إلى حوالي القرن الثالث عشر حتى القرن التاسع قبل الميلاد. وقد شيدت هذه الأبنية وكذلك المقابر المرسوفة بالحجارة بواسطة أحجار من مرحلة شواهد القصور. وتم توثيق أحدث استخدام في صورة زخارف مقنونة من تقاليد عمارة معبد معين ، من حوالي القرن السابع قبل الميلاد.

وفي القنقل السفحية الجبلية خلف الطرق يصعب تحديد زمن العصيات الملونة بالغمرة الحمراء. ولكن يحتمل بالنظر إلى طررها أنها تعود إلى الألف الأولى قبل الميلاد. وعلى أية حال فإن الأدوات الحجرية المكتشفة بداخل الوجهة الصخرية حيث تم التحويل تقتضى إلى ثرات ككولوجى أكثر قما الا وهو ثرات ماقبل العصر الحجري القديم. ومن الممكن أن تقصور إن أعمال القرنين قد يكون زمنها راجعا إلى حوالي عام 4000 قبل الميلاد.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE SOUTH ARABIAN BAYT

During the second excavation campaign of the Italian-French mission to Tamna' (September–October 2000), among other things we excavated several private dwellings in the so-called Market Place (Sector B), more or less in the centre of the extensive ruins of Hajar Kuḥlān¹. In particular, complete maps were made of House B/A (9.80 m × 7.20 m) with its N-S alignment, and of House B/B (9.60 m × 7.80 m) with its E-W alignment (Fig. 1). The latter, to which was subsequently added an annex on the South-side (House B/C), was identified from an inscription found on the North-side, as »Bayt Ya'ūd«.

The remains of the two buildings consist of the lower stone floors (the walls of the upper storeys, as can be seen in the collapsed portions, must have been made of mud brick with wooden skeleton), having no openings and respectively, 1.80 m and 2.10 m tall. They consist: a) of a powerful outer wall with foundations jutting inwards and double curtain vertical walls with isodomic rows of rough hewn granite blocks; and b) an inner grid of walls at right angles to the former arranged according to a ground plan in which the area of the house is divided longitudinally into three parts so as to delimit a regular and symmetrical series of small rooms in the lateral aisles and at the rear. The fact that the inside walls do not abut the outer wall shows that the latter were subsequent to the former but also, if we consider the slight overall inward slope of the whole construction, they had the function of buttressing the outer wall.

Access to the house (at least in the case of House B/B) was by a staircase that, built on one of the short sides, led up to the top of the base stone floor. From here, a (no longer conserved) doorway led to a central passage, the paved floor of which was brought up to level by the filling of the central lon-

gitudinal room on the base stone floor of the building. The passage led to a staircase at the back which, mounted on the filling of the middle room at the back, provided access to the upper floor.

The plastered walls and the filling produced by the collapse of the upper floors, together with a number of everyday objects, indicate that the small rooms in the side aisles, at Tamna' were mainly left empty, probably to be used as storehouses. Access to the lower levels of the pavements must have been provided by the central passage, apparently by means of a wooden staircase. The structures separating the central passage and the side aisles acted as supports for the upper floor lofts and may have consisted either of walls (with openings for the side aisles) or even of pillars, presumably supported by the points of intersection of the underlying walls².

The architectonic typology of these houses had already been observed at Tamna' by the Mission of the American Foundation for the Study of Man in the early '50s (Fig. 2 c)³ and by the Englishman Brian Doe in the mid '60s⁴, although it is extremely

¹ The excavation of the Sector B was directed by S. Antonini; other participants were also Ph. Aycard, K. al-'Ansī and E. Pisa; surveys by P. Neury and V. Samson.

² See, for instance, the pillars in the house adjacent to the Bayt Yafash (House B) and in House D, excavated at the beginning of the '50s by the Americans in the quarter around the 'South Gate' of Tamna', visible in the plan view recently published by J.-F. Breton, *Les villes du Yémen antique*, *Dossiers d'archéologie* 263 (2001) 25.

³ G.W. Van Beek, *Recovering the Ancient Civilization of Arabia*, *Biblical Archaeologist* 15, 1952, 2–18; W. Phillips, *Qataban and Sheba. Exploring Ancient Kingdoms on the Biblical Spice Routes of Arabia* (1955) 90 ff.

⁴ About 100 m West of the large building TT1: cf. B. Doe, *Southern Arabia* (1971) 220 fig. 37; idem, *Monuments of South Arabia* (1983) 131 ff.

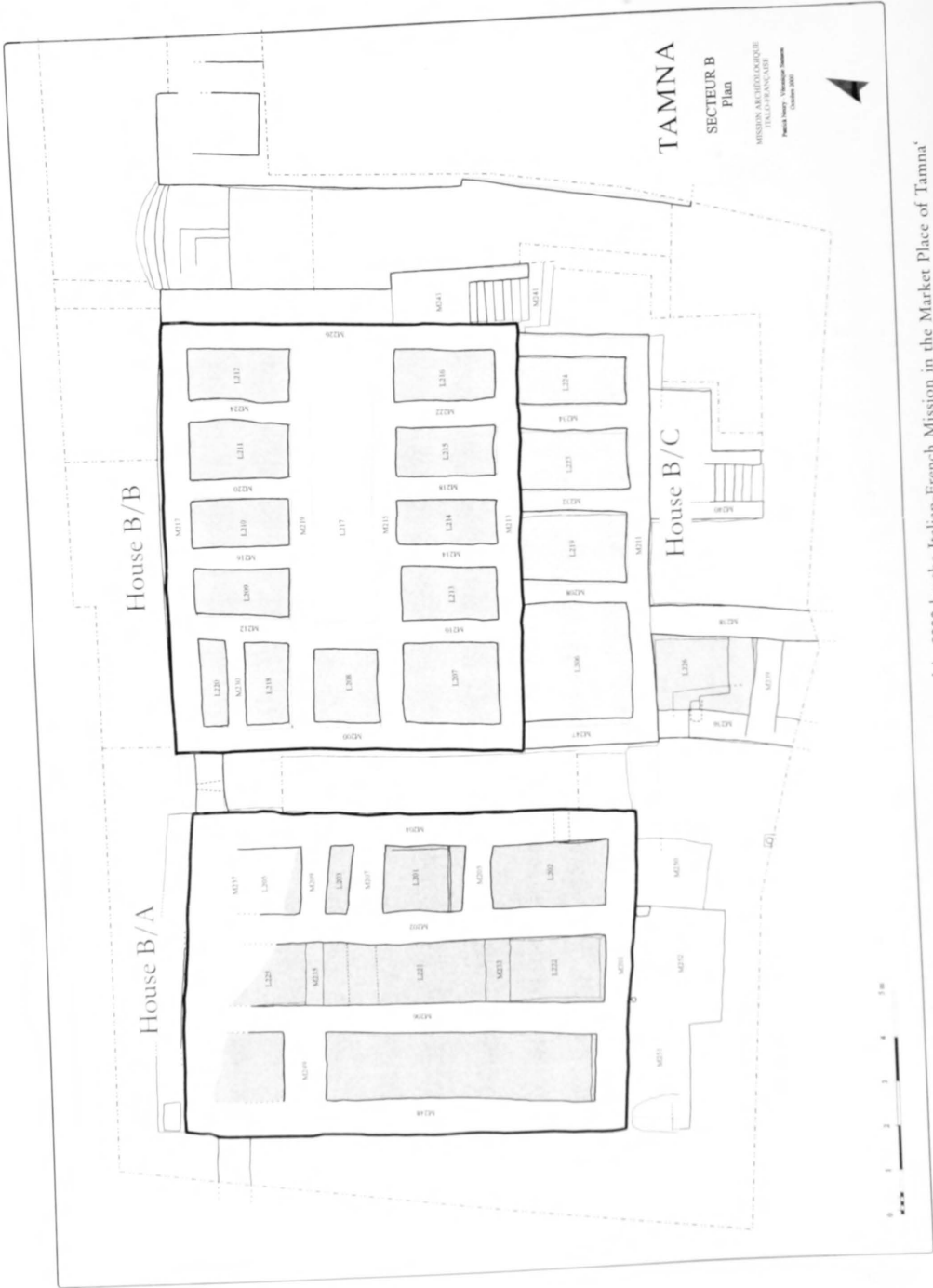


Fig. 1 Ground plan of private houses excavated in 2000 by the Italian-French Mission in the Market Place of Tamna

widespread and is related to many other cities, from Wādī Ḥarīb (Hīnū az-Zurayr, Hajar Dhahbā, Hajar Kuhayla)⁵ to Wādī Markha (Hajar Yahīr, Hajar Khamūma [Fig. 2 d], Hajar Ṭālib)⁶, from Shabwa (Fig. 2 e)⁷ to Wādī Ḥaḍramawt (Mashgha, Sūna [Fig. 2 b], Qārat Kibda)⁸. Also the time span is quite wide, ranging from 1st–2nd century A.D. (Tamna') to at least the 8–7th century B.C., as is shown by the plan of the private house excavated by our Italian Mission in 1987 at Yalā, in eastern Khawlān (Fig. 2 a)⁹.

Disregarding for the moment the specific functional reasons leading up to the conception and construction of these tall masonry ground floors¹⁰, we must point out at this stage that their ground plan and structural layout do not seem to be restricted to private houses alone and actually seem to apply also to other architectural categories, such as temples and perhaps tombs.

This notation could prove important because, if it is true, it would indicate a possible original conceptual unity in South Arabian architecture, allowing us to appreciate more fully the logic behind its historical-artistic development and, in the present case, to seek out its possible underlying motives.

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Comparison with the temples can begin with the temple of Nakrah in Barāqish (Fig. 3 a). My excavation of the latter in 1990–92 perhaps gave me a more direct opportunity to highlight the above-mentioned analogies with private houses that, as we shall see, are not only related to ground plan but are also structural in nature¹¹.

This temple, probably built in the 7–6th century B.C. and used until 1st century B.C., is built on a base that, although lower, seem to exactly reproduce the masonry ground floors of the private houses described above. About 1.30 m above external ground level, it is composed of a thick double curtain outer wall, with a slightly sloping outer face, containing a grid of large monolithic beams arranged at right angles to each other so as to act as a support for the four rows of the three pillars forming the five aisles of the cell and the posts of the doors leading to the five rear sacelli.

As can be seen, both the structures of the specific architectural layout and the general ground plan of the building are the same as in the private houses. The number of analogies increases if we

take into consideration the main entrance, aligned with the central aisle (corridor), the staircase allowing access to it and the vertical rise of the inhabitable portions over the upper surface of the base.

The differences between the temple of Nakrah at Barāqish and, for instance, the Bayt Ya'ūd of Tamna' (Fig. 1, house B/A) consist rather than in the presence/absence of precise architectonic elements, in the existence in the former of embellishments and the emphasis of several specific attributes in the latter. We thus observe in the temple a particular monumental aspect of the staircase and of the entrance in general, the elevation of the outer wall made of dressed stone instead of wood and brick, the monolithic internal pillars instead of mud brick partitions, the central rear sacellum replacing the staircase leading up to the upper floor, etc. These variants merely represent a ritualization of the normal elements of a private house and do not alter the primary dwelling function of the house itself. It is just that in this case the occupant was not an ordinary mortal but the god Nakrah, and his house was the sublimation of a normal private house.

The same construction model may be found in the great temple of Yeḥa in Ethiopia, which I excavated in 1998 as part of the research of the French

⁵ J.-F. Breton, *Les fortifications d'Arabie méridionale du 7^e au 1^{er} siècle avant notre ère*, *ABADY* 8 (1994) 142 ff. fig. 53; J.-F. Breton et al., *Une vallée aride du Yémen antique. Le wādī Bayhān* (1998) 170 ff. figs. 1. 2. 13.

⁶ *Ibidem* 171 ff. figs. 4. 10. 14.

⁷ In particular, houses 52, 72 and the building of site XIV outside the walls (J.-F. Breton [ed.], *Fouilles de Shabwa III. Architecture et techniques de construction, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique* 154, 1998, 27 ff. 39 ff. 86 ff.), although it is easy to appreciate the frequency of the construction motif simply by observing the general city plan (*ibidem* 4 fig. 1).

⁸ J.-F. Breton, *Rapport sur une mission archéologique dans le Wādī Ḥaḍramawt (Yémen du Sud)*, *CRAIBL* 1980, 75 ff. figs. 8–10; J.-F. Breton et al., *Wādī Ḥaḍramawt. Prospections 1978–1979* (1982) 79 ff.

⁹ A. de Maigret–Ch. Robin, *Les fouilles italiennes de Yalā (Yémen du Nord): nouvelles données sur la chronologie de l'Arabie préislamique*, *CRAIBL* 1989, 255–291 fig. 2.

¹⁰ In this connection see the hypotheses put forward by Breton (Shabwa III op. cit. 67 ff.) and my related observations in the review of the same book in *AION* 60, 2000.

¹¹ A. de Maigret–Ch. Robin, *Le temple de Nakrah à Yathill (aujourd'hui Barāqish), Yémen. Résultats des deux premières campagnes de fouilles de la Mission italienne*, *CRAIBL* 1993, 427–496 fig. 2.

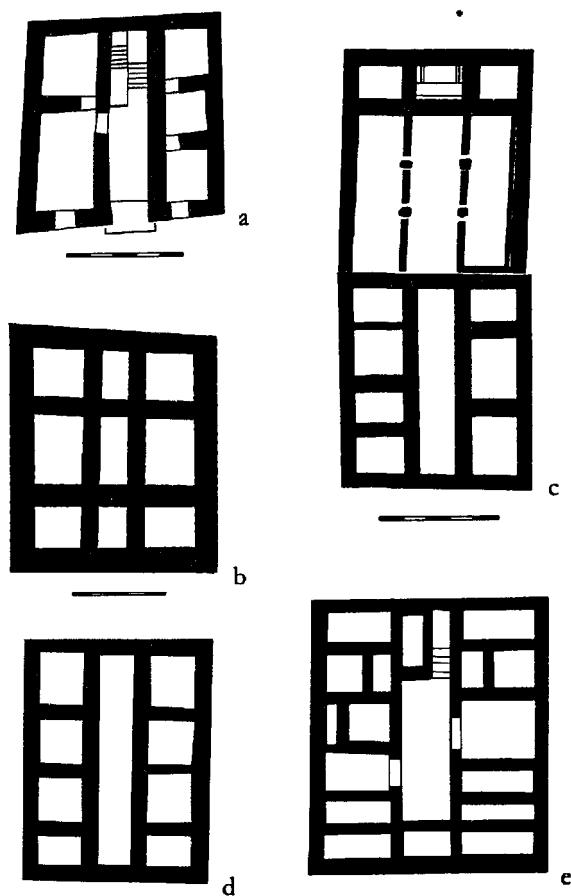


Fig. 2 Ground plans of several South Arabian private houses.
a. Yalā (Khawlān aṭ-Ṭiyāl). – b. Sūna (Ḥaḍramawt). – c. Tamna' (quarter near the South Gate). –
d. Hajar Khamūma (Wādī Markha). – e. Shabwa (Bâtiment 72)

Mission directed by Ch. Robin¹². Even though here there is no grid of orthogonal internal structures, as the twelve pillars are directly supported by the outcropping rock, the architectural univocality is suggested by the ground plan of the hypostyle room, by the presence of a base underlined on the outside by sloping rows and even by the existence (which brings it even closer to a private house) of a second floor.

This apparent relationship with private houses seems to be related above all to the so-called hypostyle temples, widespread in Ḥaḍramawt (at Raybūn [Fig. 3 b]¹³, Ḥuṣn al-Qays [Fig. 3 c]¹⁴,

Ḥurayḍa [Fig. 3 d]¹⁵, Makaynūn [Fig. 3 e]¹⁶, but also at Sūna, Mashgha, al-Hajra, Bā Quṭfa¹⁷), as

¹² Ch. Robin – A. de Maigret, *Le grand temple de Yéha* (Tigray), Éthiopie. Après la première campagne de fouilles de la Mission Française (1998), CRAIBL 1998, 737–798 fig. 7.

¹³ A. Sedov, *I templi di Raybūn*, in: *Yemen. Nel paese della regina di Saba*, exhibition cat. Rome (2000) 179 ff. fig. on p. 180.

¹⁴ Breton et al., *Wādī Ḥaḍramawt* op. cit. fig. on p. 69.

¹⁵ G. Caton Thompson, *The Tombs and Moon Temple of Hureidha* (Hadramaut), *Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London* 13 (1944) 19 ff. pl. 73.

¹⁶ Breton et al., *Wādī Ḥaḍramawt* op. cit. fig. on p. 68.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, figs. on pp. 64. 65. 66. 72.

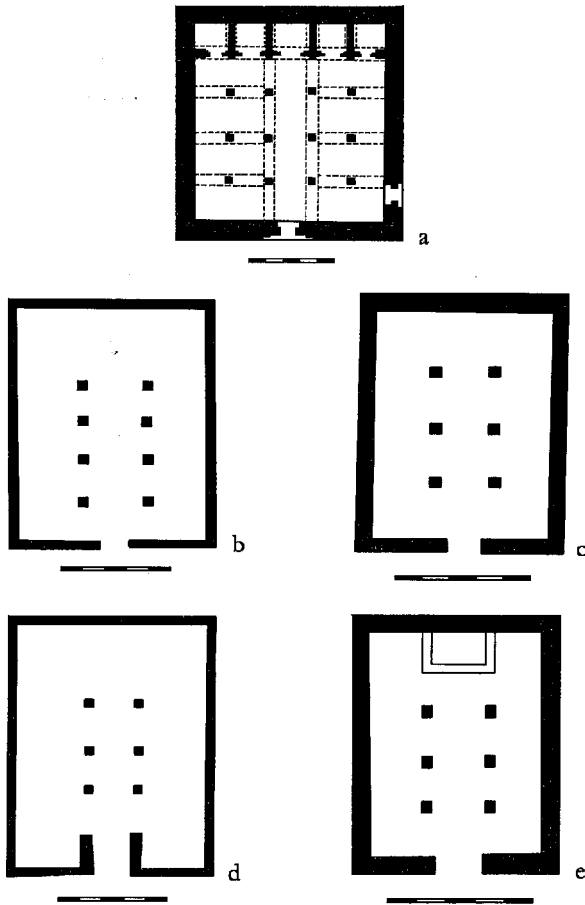


Fig. 3 Ground plans of several Yemeni hypostyle temples. – a. Barāqish (temple of Nakrah). – b. Raybūn (temple of Sayīn dhū-Mayfaʿān). – c. Ḥuṣṣ al-Qays. – d. Ḥurayḍa (Moon Temple). – e. Makaynūn

well as in the Jawf (Maʿīn¹⁸, Shaqab al-Manaṣṣa¹⁹, Darb aṣ-Ṣabī²⁰). In the latter we actually find, as well as the sloping bases, also the same internal subdivision into an odd number of aisles, the same alignment according to a central axis of the entrance and the rear podium. However, it also seems possible to attempt a comparison with the well-known large temple (or palace) buildings of Marib (Barʿān temple), Shabwa (Palais royal) and in Tamnaʿ itself (building TT1). Indeed, if we exclude the U-shaped porticoed courtyards (probably later additions), these buildings display a module that (even if doubled in TT1) is essentially the same as

that of the private houses, with a high rectangular base on which traces of small rooms divided into three aisles are still visible.

¹⁸ J. Schmidt, *Der Stadttempel von Maʿīn*, ABADY 1 (1982) 153 ff. fig. 42.

¹⁹ Ch. Robin – J.-F. Breton – R. Audouin, *Prospection archéologique et épigraphique de la Mission Archéologique Française au Yémen du Nord* (octobre-décembre 1978), Syria 56, 1979, fig. on p. 426.

²⁰ Ch. Robin – J.-F. Breton – J. Ryckmans, *Le sanctuaire minéen de NKRI à Darb aṣ-Ṣabī* (environs de Barāqish), Raydān 4, 1981 249 ff. pl. 4.

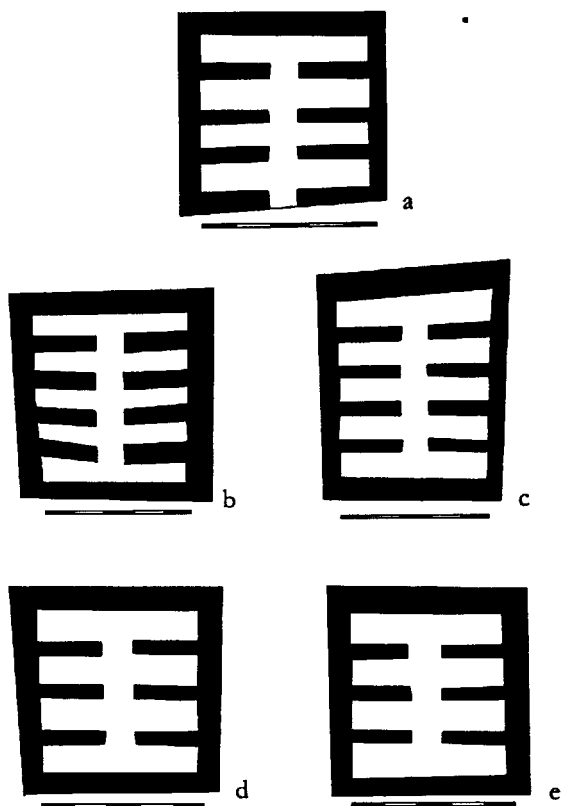


Fig. 4 Ground plans of tombs from the necropolis of Ḥayd ibn 'Aqīl

With reference to these latter three monuments, we recall – for at least two of them (TT1 in Tamna', »Palais royal« in Shabwa) – the lively debate concerning their function, that is, whether they were religious buildings (temples) or civil buildings (palaces). We realize that our hypothesis, namely, of a formal identity between private houses and temple, merely adds further uncertainty to the debate. However, if valid, I think it may be of use in shifting the problem further upstream, that is, it will mean asking whether it is actually legitimate to seek functional distinctions where in fact they implicitly did not exist. In the first instance, the *bayt* was a house, and the fact that the occupant was a king or a god was only of secondary importance. This observation seems to us to be perhaps more important than any other as it brings us closer to the very significance of South Arabian religious

feeling. However, acknowledging that our need to make a historical reconstruction has every right to raise the issue of »palace or temple«, it must be admitted that the solution of this secondary functional level, precisely because of its original indeterminate nature, actually remains a problem. As the solution to this problem does not depend, as we have seen, on purely architectonic considerations, it will have to be sought on the exclusive and more contingent basis of the archaeological-epigraphic contexts.

Lastly, it may be added that the South Arabian schema of the tripartite private house seems to be reflected, as well as in religious architecture, also in funeral architecture. The tombs of Ḥayd ibn 'Aqīl, the Tamna' necropolis, for example, with their central corridor and two rows of niches on the sides actually seem to suggest the basic model of the

houses of the living (in this case limited to the stone base floor alone). The comparison remains hypothetical of course also because the examples shown in our Figure 4, as they were obtained from a schematic ground plan incidentally published by R. Cleveland²¹, are lacking in any further archaeological detail. It cannot be ruled out, however, that the previously planned extension of our research to the Tamna' necropolis will perhaps in future provide us with further data with which to test this hypothetical link between civil architecture and funeral architecture.

*

From the above remarks it may thus be hypothetically acknowledged that in Southern Arabia a model ground plan existed – that of the private house – which was extended to other fields of architecture such as religious and funeral architecture²². It is true of course that this module could not have an exclusive nature in Southern Arabia as we find different ground plans both in the houses (see, for example, the completely different plan views of the so-called farms of al-Jafna, near Yalā²³, and in the temples (see, for example, the so-called courtyard temples of Waddum dhū-Masma'im, al-Masājid and the *extra moenia* ones of as-Sawdā' and Ma'in²⁴ and in the tombs (see, for example, the tombs of the necropolis near the Awām of Marib)²⁵. However, the fact that, precisely in this variety of possible patterns, the canonical scheme of the tripartite house recurs so widely and frequently until relatively recent times, merely confirms its distinctive and deep-rooted nature.

Moreover, if to its formal persistence we add the fact of its wide range of applications (which, as we have seen, extends beyond the functional limits of the various architectonic categories), we can understand how the tripartite schema reflects the profound traditional values of a building model that is probably extremely ancient (the house of Yalā would seem, moreover, to confirm this) and, in all probability, originally designed to have a single function.

Starting from the assumption that the hypostyle temples and the Hayd ibn 'Aqil type tombs were based on the ground plan and structure of private houses, and not vice-versa, that is, that man built the houses of gods and the dead following the

model of his own ordinary dwellings, the search for parallels for such private houses univocally leads us to Palestine alone. We actually find here a rigorous comparison with the so-called Israelite house (Fig. 5 a–d), a rectangular construction with three aisles and a back room (for this reason also known as the »four room house«), which has had a distinctive and widespread distribution in the region since the Early Iron Age (ca. 11th century B.C.)²⁶. The proportions between building length and width (Fig. 5 e, f) which, fixed at a ratio of 5:4, coincides with those of the South Arabian *bayt*, as well as the separations between aisles, often achieved by using monolithic pillars, not only strengthen the comparison, but appear also to confirm the hypothesis of a similarity between South Arabian private houses and hypostyle temples.

The debate concerning the origin of the »four room house« is controversial, with some claiming that it originated from the nomadic tents of the Israelites²⁷ while others see a connection with specific, albeit sporadic, ground plan motifs of the Late and Middle Bronze Age civil architecture in Canaan²⁸. The fact however that its generalized use suddenly appears in Palestine with the arrival of the Israelites and that it is observed to be their typical dwelling type throughout the period of the

²¹ R. L. Cleveland, *An Ancient South Arabian Necropolis. Objects from the Second Campaign (1951) in the Timna' Cemetery, PAFSM IV (1965) plan 2.*

²² The *bayt* model seems to involve also urban defensive architecture, which arises out of the juxtaposition of peripheral private houses.

²³ A. de Maigret, *Archaeological Survey on the Wādī Yalā Antiquities*, in: idem (ed.), *The Sabaeen Archaeological Complex in the Wādī Yalā (Eastern Khawlan at Ṭiyāl, Yemen Arab Republic)*, *IsMEO Reports and Memoirs* 21 (1988) 5 ff. fig. 9–13.

²⁴ Cf. M. Jung, *The Religious Monuments of Ancient Southern Arabia. A Preliminary Typological Classification*, *AION* 48, 1988, 186 ff.

²⁵ I. Gerlach, *Die Grabungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Sana'a im sabäischen Friedhof des Awām-Tempels in Marib*, in: *Im Land der Königin von Saba. Kunstschatze aus dem antiken Jemen*, exhibition cat. Munich (2000) 113 ff. figs. 2–6.

²⁶ G. R. H. Wright, *Ancient Building in South Syria and Palestine* (1985) 293 ff.

²⁷ V. Fritz, *Die Kulturhistorische Bedeutung der Früheisenzeitlichen Siedlung auf der Ḥirbet el Mešas*, *ZDPV* 96, 1980, 122.

²⁸ Wright op. cit. 295 f.

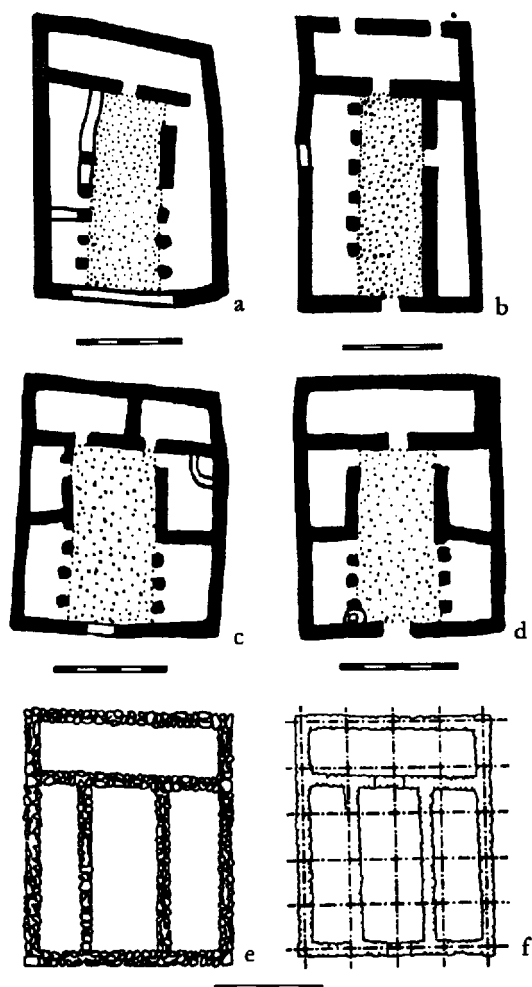


Fig. 5 Ground plans of Palestine private houses.
a and b. Tell Masos. - c and d. Tell el-Far'ah. - e and f. Tell en-Nasbeh

monarchy, seems to underline, in our opinion, that this house model was an intrinsic part of the architectonic tradition of this population. In this sense, taking into consideration the nomadic origin of the Israelites, the hypothesis of the tent as an inspirational motif, although still not verifiable, seems at least to be plausible.

If we consider that, in all likelihood, also the Southern Arabians had nomadic origins and that their civilisation is the result of a sedentarization that took place among the Yemeni mountains in

the closing centuries of the second millennium B.C., we see that the parallels observed between the South Arabian *bayt* and the Israelite house are apparently accompanied by another, more general and more profound one, regarding the historical-cultural path followed by the two populations. We could consequently claim that, since both the Israelites and the South Arabians built houses of the same type when, at the same time (Early Iron Age) they settled respectively in the north-western and south-western regions of the Arabian Penin-

sula, the origins of this dwelling model must be rooted in a common tradition shared by the two populations. This brings us back to a stage prior to their separation, that is, to the nomadic phase of their existence.

The South Arabian *bayt* and its apparent planimetric similarities with such distant dwelling models as those of the Israelite houses, highlights the role played by the Arabian desert in defining the cultural identity of the peoples who flourished along its borders. Sedentarization physically separated, but did not change, what nomadism had created and kept together. To be able to come back

and understand more fully this original conceptual unity would yield deeper insights into the ensuing cultural outcomes. As the specific case in point shows, it is possible to trace back as far as a 'common proto-architecture' that obviously inspired the Semitic peoples that settled in the Near East with the opening of the Iron Age.

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إلقاء الضوء على البيت في جنوب بلاد العرب

أ. دي مجريه

(A. de Maigret)

ملخص:

اكتشفت بعثة أثرية إيطالية فرنسية باليمن في تمنع ، العاصمة القديمة لمملكة قتبان ببلاد جنوب العرب ، معبداً فخماً موقوفاً على الإلهة أثرت وبعض البيوت الخاصة الغنية في الميدان الذي يطلق عليه "ميدان السوق". هذه الاكتشافات هامة ليس فقط لأنها تمدنا بمعلومات جديدة عن تمنع المذكورة عند بلينيوس (Pliny) ، نقطة الانطلاق من طريق قوافل البخور للشهير ، وإنما أيضاً لأنها تلقي ضوءاً جديداً على بعض المظاهر المعقدة للعمارة القديمة في الشرق الأدنى. وبفضل الاكتشافات في شارع السوق على سبيل المثال لدينا الآن معلومات تقنية حول النموذج المعتمد والمشهور (والمغز كذلك) للبيت في جنوب بلاد العرب. وهذا يسمح لنا أن نتناقل حول الدور الذي لعبه البيت في تاريخ فن العمارة اليمني وأن نقدم - في إطار لوسج - أفكاراً جديدة حول نشأته وانتشاره في الأطراف الغربية من الصحراء العربية.

إن التخطيط الذي يوضح أساماً ثلاثة فيما يتعلق بالطول للبيت بجنوب بلاد العرب ذي الغرفة الواسعة تحت الأرض والسلم الخارجي يؤدي إلى المنزل عبر طابق أرضي حجري مرتفع مدرج قليلاً وغير مدهون له تاريخ قديم (مثال من يلا يعود إلى القرن الثامن / السابع قبل الميلاد) ويتشابه تشابهاً كاملاً مع المخطط المعماري للمعابد المرتكزة سقفها على صفوف من الأعمدة بالجوف وحضرموت وكذلك المقابر متعددة الغرف بحيد بن عقيل قرب تمنع. ويبدو أن هذا يبين أن دور العبادة وبيوت الموتى في جنوب بلاد العرب القديمة اكتسبت أشكالها أساساً من المساكن العمرانية العادية. وهكذا استطعنا أن نرى صورة من الأبنية موحدة ولأساسية تقوم على الطرز المختلفة في فن العمارة بجنوب بلاد العرب التي توجب علينا أن نحملها في عقولنا عند دراسة تاريخها وتطورها. وهذا ، بمعنى آخر ، من شأنه أن يظهر بوضوح التقليد الكبير والنشأة المبكرة لنموذج لبيت الأصل.

وهذه المخطط الهندسي المتكرر ليس مقصوراً على جنوب بلاد العرب. ويمكننا أن نجد نفس المخطط فيما يسمى بالبيت ذي الغرف الأربعة (أو بيت بني إسرائيل) الذي كان واسع الانتشار في فلسطين أثناء النصف الأول من الألفية الأولى قبل الميلاد. وتركز المقارنة على مراعاة نفس التقسيم الداخلي والقياسات العامة والنسبة بين الطول والعرض (4:5) وتفاصيل مثل صفوف الأعمدة المتلبيثة التي تفصل بين الأجنحة. وعلاوة على ذلك فإن التشابه لا يبدو غير مقصود إذا ما راعينا تعاضرها الشامل والعلاقة الشاملة في أنواع أخرى من حضارة المادة (كالفخاريات على سبيل المثال).

وبالنظر إلى القيمة القوية والخاصة للنموذج في العمارة المعدنية (في كل من جنوب بلاد العرب وفلسطين) أفضل أن نتحدث عن الأصل الشائع للظاهرتين بدلاً من تخيل الأخذ المتبادل بين أحدهما والآخر. وبعبارة أخرى: استطاع البيت في جنوب بلاد العرب وبيت بني إسرائيل أن يمثل نتائج منفصلة لنموذج حضاري كان شائعاً أساساً عند الشعبين قبل استقرارهما في جنوب بلاد العرب وفلسطين (وفي هذا الصدد يجب هنا التأكيد على نظرية ف. فريش القائلة بنقل نموذج بيت بني إسرائيل عن الخيمة البدوية). ولقد تمكن ذلك من إلقاء ضوء جديد على العصر الحديدي المبكر في بداية التاريخ الذي جعل الشرق الأدنى القديم أهلاً بالسكان.

ZUR CHRONOLOGIE DER INSCRIFTEN AUS DEM BAR'ĀN-TEMPEL

Im September 2000 wurde bei den vom Deutschen Archäologischen Institut (DAI) durchgeführten Restaurierungsarbeiten außerhalb der Nordmauer des Bar'ān-Tempel in einem Schutthaufen eine Reihe zum Teil auch umfangreicherer Inschriftenfragmente gefunden¹. Dabei handelt es sich einmal um Namensaufschriften auf Tongefäßfragmenten aus früherer Zeit, sodann um bereits bekannte Architekturwidmungen auf Steinbockreliefs und schließlich um eine ganze Reihe von Dedikationen aus der mittelsabäischen Periode. Von nicht geringer historischer Bedeutung ist dabei ein Steinblock, der die ersten zehn Zeilen einer Inschrift des Hamdaniden Šā'irum 'Awtar enthält. Dieser König, den wir um 210 bis 230 n. Chr. ansetzen, hat dem 'Almaqah, dem Herrn von Maskat und der in Bar'ān wohnt², – den Einlassungen der Fußspuren nach zu schließen – sein 40 bis 50 cm hohes bronzenes Standbild gewidmet³. Der Inhalt ist insofern von besonderem historischen Interesse, als der Text u. a. von bekannten militärischen Aktionen des Šā'irum 'Awtar in Nordarabien und insbesondere gegen das 280 km nordöstlich von Nagrān gelegene Qaryat al-Fa'w berichtet⁴ und uns mit einigen weiteren historischen Detailinformationen versorgt. So ist in Zeile 9 zu lesen, daß er den Rabī'at bin Mu'āwiyat⁵ nach Šan'ā deportiert und dort vermutlich in seinem Stammschloß Ġumdan unterbringt⁶.

Außer den Abkürzungen gemäß ABADY 9 (2002) 248 ff. werden folgende verwandt:

Nebes (1992) N. Nebes, New Inscriptions from the Bar'ān Temple (al-'Amā'id) in the Oasis of Mārib, in: A. Harrak (Hrsg.), *Contacts between Cultures. West Asia and North Africa I, Selected Papers from the 33rd International Congress of Asian*

and North African Studies, Toronto 1990 (1992) 160–164

Nebes (2000) N. Nebes, Die In-situ-Inschriften des Bar'ān-Tempels, in: Vogt – Herberg – Röring 16–18

Vogt – Herberg – Röring B. Vogt – W. Herberg – N. Röring, »Arsh Bilqis« – Der Tempel des Almaqah von Bar'an in Marib (2000)

Seipel O. Seipel (Hrsg.), *Kunst und Archäologie im Land der Königin von Saba*, Ausstellungskat. Wien (1998)

Siglen der publizierten Inschriften, soweit dort verzeichnet, nach DS XX–XXV. Die Abkürzung Kat. mit folgender Nummernangabe verweist auf die betreffende Inschrift im nachstehenden Katalog. – P. Stein, Jena, danke ich für die Durchsicht des Manuskripts und manche kritische Bemerkung.

¹ Die Freilegung des Heiligtums erfolgte zwischen den Jahren 1988 und 1997 durch das DAI. Die anschließenden Restaurierungsarbeiten wurden 2000 abgeschlossen. Als vorläufige Orientierung sei auf J. Schmidt, Tempel und Heiligtümer in Südarabien, NBA 14, 1997–99, 20–26; B. Vogt, Der Almaqah-Tempel von Bar'an, in: Seipel; Vogt – Herberg – Röring sowie J. Görtsdorf – B. Vogt, Radiocarbon Datings from the Almaqah Temple of Bar'an, Ma'rib, Republic of Yemen: Approximately 800 Cal BC to 600 Cal AD, Radiocarbon 43, 2001, 1363–69 hingewiesen.

² So die herkömmliche Übersetzung von *'lmqh b'l mskt wrytw br'n* der in Z. 3 der Inschrift genannten Titulatur des 'Almaqah. Die verschiedenen Beinamen werden unten erörtert.

³ Dies ist die vierte bekannte Inschrift des Šā'irum 'Awtar als Alleinregent, vgl. N. Nebes, Šā'irum 'Awtar und das widerpenstige Kamel. Eine neue Widmungsinschrift für dū Samāwī aus der Oase von Mārib, in: N. Nebes (Hrsg.), *Neue Beiträge zur Semitistik*, JBVO 5 (2002) 133.

⁴ Vgl. die »Untertanen«-Inschrift J 635/16–28.

⁵ Der Name des Kindakönigs ist an dieser Stelle zum ersten Mal vollständig bezeugt; ohne Filiation dagegen in J 635/26 f.: *rb't / d'l tawm / mlk / kdt / wqhṭn*.

⁶ DAI Bar'ān 2000–1/9 ff. = Kat. 33: *wh'tw / rb't / bn / m'wyt / d'l / taw* (10) [*m / ml*] *k / kdt / wqhṭn / 'dy / hgrn / ʔn* (11) [*'w*] »und (als) er den Rabī'at bin Mu'āwiyat aus der Familie Tawru(m), den Königl. der Kinda und Qahṭān, in die Stadt Šan[aw] brachte«.

Von den Inschriften, die wir mittlerweile aus dem Bar'an-Tempel besitzen, ist dieser Text – auf die politische Ereignisgeschichte Südarabiens bezogen – sicherlich der bedeutendste. Zugleich zeigt er, daß nicht nur im größten Heiligtum in der Oase von Märib, im 'Awäm, sondern auch in dem davon unweit gelegenen Bar'an-Tempel Könige der mittelsabäischen Zeit Dedikationen hinterlassen haben, die in unmittelbarem Zusammenhang mit deren militärischen Unternehmungen stehen. Dies ist ein Ergebnis, das wir aufgrund des epigraphischen Befundes der vorausgehenden Kampagnen nicht formulieren konnten. Wir müssen daher davon ausgehen, daß unsere Kenntnis der im Heiligtum aufgestellten und angebrachten Inschriften nach wie vor äußerst lückenhaft ist, und dies gilt es vorab zu bedenken, wenn aufgrund der epigraphischen Funde im folgenden Rückschlüsse auf die Bedeutung des Heiligtums und seine zeitliche Belegung angestellt werden.

Aus dem Bar'an-Tempel besitzen wir mittlerweile 62 Inschriften, die bei den Ausgrabungen und den anschließenden Restaurierungsarbeiten des DAI freigelegt worden sind, wobei wir die kleineren, aussagekräftigen Fragmente mit hinzurechnen. Zwei unveröffentlichte Widmungen (Kat. 39 und 45) aus der Muḥāfazat Märib, die nicht im Zuge der Ausgrabungen des DAI gefunden worden sind, können aufgrund des Beinamens der Gottheit zweifelsfrei dem Bar'an-Tempel zugeordnet werden. Dazu kommen neun Inschriften, die schon seit langem oder längerem bekannt und auch publiziert sind⁷. Zu ihnen gehört etwa das zweizeilige, am nördlichen Säulenstumpf des Propylon angebrachte Verbot C 400, Silber oder – so die andere Interpretation – Aromata aus dem Heiligtum zu entfernen⁸.

Wenn wir eine erste Bestandsaufnahme der insgesamt 73 Inschriften vornehmen, so gelangen wir zu folgendem Befund:

Wie nicht anders zu erwarten, handelt es sich bei der überwiegenden Mehrzahl der Texte um Widmungsinschriften. Andere Inschriftengattungen sind spärlich vertreten. So sind bislang vier Inschriften juristischen Inhalts bekannt. Neben dem bereits genannten Verbot C 400 am Säulenstumpf des Propylon ist ein vierzeiliger Erlaß der Verwalter des Bar'an-Tempels (Kat. 54) zu nennen, der an der äußeren Mauer des Vorhofs an der Nordwestecke des Tempels angebracht ist. In diesem Erlaß wird vom Vorsteher sowie den Ver-

waltern des Tempels festgelegt, daß an der Mauer grasende Ziegen geschlachtet werden sollen. Auf einem Säulenfragment, ebenfalls von den Verwaltern des Bar'an-Tempels verfaßt, ist eine Bekanntmachung (Kat. 55) festgehalten, die durch eine Reihe bislang unbekannter Bau-Termini einige Verständnisprobleme aufwirft. Wenn wir eine vorläufige Interpretation versuchen, so geht aus diesem Text hervor, daß die Verwalter des Bar'an einen namentlich genannten Funktionsträger darauf verpflichten, für Beschaffung(?) und Betreuung bestimmter Architekturteile Sorge zu tragen⁹.

Die einzige Bauinschrift (Kat. 58) sei der Vollständigkeit halber erwähnt. Sie stammt aus späterer Zeit, ist ausgemeißelt und steht in keinem inhaltlichen Zusammenhang mit der Baugeschichte des Heiligtums¹⁰.

Von den Widmungsinschriften, die erwartungsgemäß den Großteil des epigraphischen Corpus ausmachen, sind einige wenige auch anderen Gottheiten geweiht. So sind zwei Widmungen aus der früheren Zeit, eine Personenwidmung (Kat. 48)¹¹ und eine Aufschrift auf einem Räucheraltar (Kat. 49) für die Göttin Hawbas, eine Inschrift aus der mittelsabäischen Periode für Nasrum (Kat. 53)

⁷ C 314+954 = Kat. 34; C 400 = Kat. 56; C 401 = Kat. 31; C 404 = Kat. 44; E 69 = Kat. 35; F 52 = Kat. 15; F 53+54 = J 532 = Kat. 26; J 535 = Kat. 46; J 877 = Kat. 37.

⁸ In dieser Inschrift, die bereits von Th. Arnaud bei seinem Besuch in Märib im Juli 1843 aufgenommen wurde und sich heute noch in situ befindet, ist sowohl 'Almaqab, der Herr von Bar'an (*'lmaq b'l br'n*), als auch das Heiligtum Bar'an (*mḥrmm br'n*) genannt, welchen Zitaten es zu verdanken ist, daß schon im 19. Jh. kein Zweifel an dem Namen des Heiligtums noch daran bestand, welcher Gottheit es zuzuschreiben sei. – Zu den verschiedenen Auffassungen von *ḥr* als »Silber« und »Aromata« vgl. zuletzt A. Sima, Tiere, Pflanzen, Steine und Metalle in den altsüdarabischen Inschriften, Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz 46 (2000) 335 f., der sich gegen W. W. Müller, Namen von Aromata im antiken Südarabien, in: A. Avanzini (Hrsg.), *Profumi d'Arabia*, Kongreß Mailand = *Saggi di storia antica* 11 (1997) 210, für den erstgenannten Vorschlag ausspricht. Möglicherweise hat *ḥr* an dieser Stelle aber eine ganz andere Bedeutung.

⁹ Das vierte juristische Dokument, Kat. 57, ist eine fragmentarische, zweizeilige, mittelsabäische Rechtsurkunde, die an der Nordseite der Brunnenplatte unterhalb der großen »Brunneninschrift« angebracht ist.

¹⁰ Ausführlicher dazu Nebes (1992) 163 f.

¹¹ Diese weist einen sehr frühen Schriftduktus auf.

bestimmt. Auf zwei Räucheraltären ist die Göttin Šams¹² angesprochen, und in einer siebenzeiligen Inschrift auf einem rötlich eingefärbten Kalksteinblock (Kat. 52) dedizieren zwei Frauen ihre Statuetten der Gottheit 'Azīlāt, die ihrem Beinamen zufolge in einem bislang unbekannten Heiligtum 'Aḏādān verehrt wird¹³ und nur noch in C 557, einer mittelsabäischen Widmung unbekannter Herkunft, begegnet. Schließlich wird in einer Aufschrift auf einem Räucheraltar dieser der Gottheit 'Attar zugeeignet¹⁴.

In der Mehrzahl der Fälle – und hier können wir auch die Fragmente mitzählen – ist 'Almaqah der Adressat der Dedikationen. Drei große Gruppen von Widmungen sind hier zu unterscheiden:

Zur ersten Gruppe gehören die Widmungen, die mit der Baugeschichte des Heiligtums in Zusammenhang stehen und an Architekturteilen oder Baulichkeiten des Heiligtums angebracht sind. Zu einem Großteil handelt es sich dabei um solche Widmungen, in denen das Widmungsobjekt nicht explizite aufgeführt wird¹⁵. Besonders hervorzuheben ist darunter eine Dedikation, die – nach den zahlreichen Fragmenten zu urteilen – in vielfachen Ausfertigungen mit ein und demselben Wortlaut auf den Alabasterreliefs an der Galerie der Hofmauer, aber auch auf Steinblöcken immer wiederkehrt und folgendermaßen lautet: »Yiṭa'karib bin Sumuhūkarib aus der Sippe 'Inānān, der Verwalter des Yada'il und Yiṭa'amar und Karib'il, hat dem 'Almaqah gewidmet«¹⁶. Auch wenn in diesen Fällen die Zuordnung zu den Architekturteilen nicht ganz unproblematisch ist, so können wir doch davon ausgehen, daß die Widmungen sich auf die Gegenstände beziehen, auf denen sie, obwohl sie nicht ausdrücklich im Text genannt werden, auch angebracht sind. Eindeutig, jedoch bei den Baulichkeiten des Heiligtums selten, ist die Nennung des Objekts wie in der zweizeiligen, über drei Meter langen Bustrophedon-Inschrift auf der Nordseite der Brunnenplatte (Kat. 27), in der der Brunnen Nabaṭum (b'm nbt'm) samt den einzelnen zu ihm gehörigen Bauteilen den Widmungsgegenstand bildet.

Die zweite Gruppe, die zum überwiegenden Teil an Altären angebracht ist, wird von Dedikationen mit namentlich ausgewiesenem Widmungsobjekt gebildet. Hierbei geht es in den wenigsten Fällen – woran man zunächst denken könnte –, um die Widmung der die Inschrift tragenden Ob-

jekte¹⁷, vielmehr werden männliche und weibliche Personen dem 'Almaqah geweiht¹⁸ sowie namentlich bezeichnete Landstücke und Palmgärten der Gottheit und damit auch dem Tempel übergeben¹⁹.

¹² bry šms in Kat. 50 und 51.

¹³ So in Z. 3f.: 'lhm / 'zz lt / b'l / 'dān.

¹⁴ Kat. 47: l-ṭr »für 'Attar«.

¹⁵ Die meisten dieser Inschriften befinden sich in situ und sind in der Grundrißskizze bei Vogt–Herberg–Röring Abb. 5 eingezeichnet und bei Nebes (2000) 16–18 unter den angegebenen Nummern übersetzt. Im einzelnen handelt es sich um ebenda Nr. 1 = Kat. 9; Nr. 3 = Kat. 7 = Kat. 6; Nr. 4 = Kat. 4; Nr. 5 = Kat. 5; Nr. 6 = Kat. 3; Nr. 7 = Kat. 8.

¹⁶ So nach den beiden vollständig erhaltenen Inschriften Kat. 4 und Kat. 3 auf den Alabasterreliefs in der nördlichen und südlichen Hofgalerie, im Wortlaut: yṭ'krb / bn / smhkrb / bn / 'nnn / qyn / yd'l / wyt'mr / wkrb'l / hqny / 'lmaq; ohne Titulatur Kat. 5 auf einer Steinbank am Haupteingang zum Vorhof.

¹⁷ Die – wohl eindeutige – Ausnahme stellt Kat. 29 dar, in welcher Widmung von einem Verwalter des Tempels (qyn br'm) der die Inschrift tragende Altar mit Namen 'st samt Nachkommenschaft (w-kl wldhw) der Gottheit ausgerichtet wird. Von daher ist es nicht auszuschließen, daß in Kat. 11–13 nicht eine Personenwidmung vorliegt, sondern fr't den Namen eines Altars bezeichnet, zumal in einer unveröffentlichten Inschrift aus Širwāh fr'tm, wenigentlich mit Mimation, als Aufschrift an einer Altarplatte bezeugt ist, womit schwerlich etwas anderes als deren Name gemeint sein wird. Auf der anderen Seite hat die Aufnahme der betreffenden Katalognummern unter die Personenwidmungen insofern ihre Berechtigung, als fr't im Altsüdarabischen eindeutig als Frauenname nachgewiesen ist (vgl. den qatabanischen Befund bei H. Hayajneh, Die Personennamen in den qatabanischen Inschriften [1998] s. r.) und darüber hinaus die Widmung weiblicher Personen in der altsabäischen Zeit auch außerhalb des Bar'an-Tempels begegnet (vgl. z. B. C 492, C 495). – An den vier Seiten eines Tischaltars ist die Widmung Kat. 10 angebracht, die, auch wenn kein Objekt genannt wird, diesen vermutlich zum Gegenstand hat.

¹⁸ So z. B. die männlichen Personen Damaryada' (dmryd') und Yiṭa'radam (yṭ'rdm) in Kat. 15. 16, sowie die weibliche Person Gufrat (ḡfrt) in Kat. 18. Der Hawbas wird auf einem treppenartigen Kalksteinsockel die männliche Person Habarr'il (hbr'l) dediziert (Kat. 48); der Hintergrund der altsabäischen Personenwidmung ist noch nicht recht durchsichtig. Ganz abgesehen von dem Umstand, daß damit die Zugehörigkeit zur Kultgemeinschaft einer Gottheit öffentlich dokumentiert wird, welche Implikationen dies für die dedizierte Person auch immer haben mag, kann die Widmung ihre ganz pragmatische Ursache darin haben, daß die gewidmeten Personen zu Dienstleistungen für den Tempel herangezogen werden; vgl. vorläufig W. Arnold – N. Nebes, Eine altsabäische Widmungsinschrift auf einer Bronzetafel, Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik 35, 1998, 10 mit Anm. 10.

¹⁹ Vgl. Kat. 22–26.

Die dritte Gruppe von Votivtexten schließlich, die – mit einer Ausnahme²⁰ – alle in nachchristlicher Zeit abgefaßt wurden, ist durch die allseits bekannten Widmungen von Statuetten (*šlm*–) vertreten²¹. Diese Statuetten bilden in der Regel die Stifter ab, in einem Fall wird die Statuette eines Kamels²², in einem anderen jene einer Löwin aus Bronze²³ dediziert.

Wenn wir uns nach dieser kurzen Bestandsaufnahme der chronologischen Verteilung der Inschriften zuwenden, so können wir uns zunächst recht schnell und problemlos einen Eindruck darüber verschaffen, welche Inschriften vor bzw. nach der Zeitenwende entstanden sind. Wie die Durchsicht ergibt, kommen 42 Inschriften²⁴ und damit weit über die Hälfte des epigraphischen Fundmaterials aus altsabäischer Zeit. 27 Beispiele²⁵ sind eindeutig mittelsabäisch und in nachchristlicher Zeit abgefaßt. Vier Inschriften sind, ihrem paläographischen Duktus nach zu urteilen, in nachaltsabäischer Zeit vor der Zeitenwende anzusetzen²⁶. Über diese grobe Orientierung hinaus ist gerade für die altsabäische Zeit eine differenzierte Aufgliederung bekanntlich überaus schwierig und problematisch. Mit Ausnahme des absoluten Datums um 685 v. Chr., das wir über die assyrische Annalistik für Karib'il Watar gewinnen, fehlen absolute chronologische Anhaltspunkte für die altsabäische Zeit der Bustrophedon-Inschriften, so daß wir mehr oder weniger auf paläographische Beobachtungen in Verbindung mit archäologischen Datierungsversuchen angewiesen sind. Darüber hinaus sind bislang keine Herrscherinschriften aus der vorchristlichen Zeit, weder in den Versturzschriften noch an exponierten Architekturteilen, gefunden worden²⁷. Mukarribe sind durchaus genannt, aber nicht als Erbauer oder Widmende, sondern in den Titulaturen ihrer Beamten und Untertanen²⁸. In diesen Positionen fehlen aber die Beinamen, so daß über eine Identifizierung der in unserem Textcorpus des öfteren genannten Mukarribe Yada'il, Karib'il und Yita'amar nur gemutmaßt werden kann.

Wenn überhaupt, dann kommt als prosopographischer Anhaltspunkt nur der bereits genannte Yita'karib bin Sumuhukarib aus der Sippe 'Inānan in Betracht, der die Galerie des Innenhofs mit Steinbockreliefs hat auskleiden lassen. Dieser Yita'karib führt den Titel eines Verwalters, also eines Qayn, des Yada'il und Yita'amar und

Karib'il. Diese Mukarribe in der aufgeführten Reihenfolge finden wir in einer ganzen Reihe von sogenannten Untertaneninschriften aus der ausgehenden altsabäischen Periode. H. von Wissmann hat die betreffenden Inschriften zusammengestellt und für seine chronologischen und paläographischen Untersuchungen ausgewertet. Er kommt zu dem Ergebnis, daß diese Herrscher, die als letzte Mukarribe in der gegebenen Reihenfolge den »Großen Stammesbaum« beschließen, im 5. Jh. v. Chr. anzusetzen sind²⁹. Auch wenn gegenüber rein immanenten chronologischen Auswertungen ein gesundes Maß an Skepsis angebracht erscheint, so stimmt dieser zeitliche Ansatz durchaus mit der Paläographie der von Yita'karib gesetzten Dedikationen überein³⁰. Auch die anderen, in situ befindlichen Inschriften, die sich auf die Baugeschichte beziehen³¹, können mit Ausnahme der monumental zweizeiligen Bustrophedon-Inschrift am Brunnen (Kat. 27) von den Schriftformen her diesem Zeitraum zugeordnet werden³². Dieser chro-

²⁰ Kat. 30, die Widmung einer Statuette (*mšlm*), ist paläographisch eindeutig früher, vermutlich um 200 v. Chr., anzusetzen.

²¹ Vgl. Kat. Abschnitt 1.6.

²² Kat. 46 ('*blm*).

²³ Kat. 45 (*lb'n qd dhhn*).

²⁴ Kat. 1–29. 48. 49. 54. 59–68.

²⁵ Kat. 31–46. 50–53. 57. 58. 69–73.

²⁶ Es handelt sich hierbei um das zweizeilige Verbot (Kat. 56), die in vergleichbarem Schriftduktus gehaltene Bekanntmachung der Verwalter des Bar'an (Kat. 55), die ebenfalls schon genannte Widmung einer Statuette (Kat. 30) und möglicherweise die an 'Aṭtar gerichtete Altaraufschrift (Kat. 47).

²⁷ Diese wären beispielsweise an den höheren, nicht mehr vorhandenen Lagen der Außen- und Innenseiten der Hofmauer zu erwarten gewesen.

²⁸ Neben dem bereits erwähnten Yita'karib, der der Verwalter der drei Mukarribe Yada'il, Yita'amar und Karib'il gewesen ist, sind etwa noch ein »Verwalter des Sumuhū'alī und Yita'amar« (Kat. 21: *mudd smb'ly w-yt'mr*), ein »Diener des Yada'il und Yita'amar« (Kat. 8: *'bd yt'ly w-yt'mr*), ein »Diener des Karib'il« (Kat. 67: [*'bd krb'ly*] sowie ein »Diener des Yada'il« (Kat. 2: *'bd yd'ly*) zu nennen.

²⁹ H. von Wissmann, in: W. W. Müller (Hrsg.), Die Geschichte von Saba II. Das Großreich der Sabäer bis zu seinem Ende im frühen 4. Jh. v. Chr., SBWien 402 (1982) 275 ff.

³⁰ Die paläographischen Kriterien sind die bekannten: neben Höhen- und Breitenindex z. B. Schafthöhe von S, und K, Gleichschenkeligkeit des M, Kreis- bzw. Ovalförmigkeit von ' und W.

³¹ Siehe die in Anm. 15 genannten Texte.

³² Im Katalog als aSabC ausgewiesen.

nologische Befund steht dabei durchaus in Einklang mit den archäologischen Ergebnissen. Nach Mitteilung von B. Vogt, Bonn, sind Tempelvorhof, Hofpflasterung, Fußboden, Propylon und Monumentaltreppe des Heiligtums als eine zeitlich in sich geschlossene Bauphase zu werten und im späten 6. oder 5. Jh. v. Chr. entstanden³³.

Wenn wir das epigraphische Material aus der altsabäischen Zeit einer eingehenderen paläographischen Durchsicht unterziehen, dann zeigt sich, daß bei weitem nicht alle Inschriften in die »klassische« Phase des 5. Jh. v. Chr. zu datieren sind. So zeichnet sich eine kleinere Gruppe von Inschriften und Fragmenten ab, deren Paläographie in zwei frühere Phasen der altsabäischen Periode verweist. Unter Zugrundelegung der Zeichenformen in den beiden großen Inschriften des Karib'il Watar aus Širwāḥ R 3945 = Gl 1000 A und R 3946 = Gl 1000 B, aus denen wir das absolute Datum um 685 n. Chr. erhalten, sind zum einen jene Inschriften zu nennen, die in einem ganz ähnlichen Duktus wie die beiden großen Inschriften aus Širwāḥ gehalten sind³⁴. Darunter fallen eindeutig die monumentale, am Brunnen angebrachte Bustrophedon-Inschrift (Kat. 27) wie auch die in mehrfacher Ausfertigung auf vier Altarseiten umlaufende Widmung des Bi'attar³⁵. In eine noch frühere Zeit und mit einiger Sicherheit vor R 3945 und R 3946 sind zwei Inschriften anzusetzen³⁶, bei denen es sich zum einen um die Aufschrift auf einer Messerklinge (Kat. 1)³⁷, zum anderen um eine dreizeilige Personenwidmung für die Göttin Hawbas (Kat. 48) handelt³⁸.

Weitaus präziser können wir dagegen die späteren Inschriften aus der nachchristlichen Zeit eingrenzen. So sind in den Texten aus der mittelsabäischen Periode vier Könige genannt, die uns aufgrund der großen Inschriften vom Ġabal Mi'sāl eine absolute zeitliche Vorgabe liefern³⁹. Im einzelnen sind dies 'Alhān Nahfān und Sohn Šā'irum 'Awtar, Ilšarāḥ Yaḥḏib mit Bruder Ya'zil Bayyin und schließlich als letzter sabäischer König Naša'karib Yu'min Yuharḏib.

Anhand der vorangehenden Beobachtungen können wir die folgenden Punkte zusammenfassend festhalten:

1. Auch wenn die epigraphische Dokumentation aus dem Heiligtum nachweislich früher als im 5. Jh. v. Chr. einsetzt, so fällt der Großteil der altsabäischen Schrift Dokumente in diesen Zeitraum. In diese Zeit wird von den Archäologen die Anlage

von Tempel 4 datiert, wie er in seinem gepflasterten Vorhof, den Galerien, dem Propylon und der Monumentaltreppe zu großen Teilen heute noch zu sehen ist. Diese Bauphase wird von den Widmungen auf den Alabasterreliefs, an Steinbänken und einzelnen Mauerabschnitten an der nördlichen, südlichen und in einem Fall westlichen Hofmauer begleitet und dokumentiert.

Den archäologischen Ergebnissen zufolge hat der Tempel jedoch drei Vorgängerbauten besessen. Gerade der unmittelbare Vorgängerbau aus dem 7. und 8. Jh. v. Chr., Tempel 3, dessen wesentliche Baukomplexe in einer massiven Podiumsmauer aus gewaltigen Kalksteinquadern und einer zentralen Cella mit umlaufendem Kalksteinpflaster bestanden haben⁴⁰, wird zwar baugeschichtlich durch die Epigraphik nicht begleitet, nichtsdestoweniger läßt sich für diesen Zeitraum eine – wenn auch geringe – Anzahl von Dedikationen nachweisen.

2. Das »Dokumentationsloch«, welches sich nach dem 4. Jh. v. Chr. bis zur Zeitenwende auftut und dem wir gerade einmal drei Inschriften sicher zuordnen können⁴¹, liegt nicht in irgendeinem spezifischen Umstand des Bar'an-Tempels begründet, sondern hängt ganz einfach damit zusammen, daß aus Märib die epigraphischen Quellen in den folgenden Jahrhunderten generell nur sehr spärlich fließen.

3. Aus der mittelsabäischen, nachchristlichen Zeit besitzen wir 27 Inschriften. In zehn Inschriften sind Könige genannt, und zwar handelt es sich um die Hamdaniden 'Alhān Nahfān und Sohn Šā'irum 'Awtar (Kat. 31–33), um die Guratiden Ilšarāḥ Yaḥḏib und Ya'zil Bayyin (Kat. 34–36. 69) und den aus der gleichen Sippe stammenden Naša'karib

³³ Tempel 4 nach Vogt–Herberg–Röring 2f.

³⁴ Im Katalog als aSabB ausgewiesen.

³⁵ Kat. 11–13. – Eine Reihe von Inschriftenfragmenten auf Alabasterreliefs (Kat. 22 und 59–64) weist einen späteren, nach B zu datierenden Schriftduktus auf, ohne jedoch eindeutig der Stufe C zugeordnet werden zu können.

³⁶ Im Katalog als aSabA ausgewiesen.

³⁷ Für eine sehr frühe Datierung spricht das gegabelte H.

³⁸ Neben altertümlichem H mit gerundeten Schenkeln, die aber in spitzem Winkel aufeinander treffen, ist der für die frühe Zeit typische Höhenbreitenindex von 2:1 zu nennen.

³⁹ Vgl. C. Robin, Les inscriptions d'al-Mi'sāl et la chronologie de l'Arabie méridionale au III^e siècle de l'ère chrétienne, CRAIBL (1981) 315–339.

⁴⁰ Vogt–Herberg–Röring 2.

⁴¹ s. Anm. 26.

Yu'min Yuharhib (Kat. 37. 38. 70)⁴². In drei Inschriften richten zwei Könige die Widmung selbst aus. Es ist dies einmal Ša'irum 'Awtar in dem eingangs geschilderten Neufund (Kat. 33), in dem er sich u. a. für den erfolgreichen Feldzug nach Qaryat al-Fa'w bedankt, zum anderen ist es Naša'karib Yu'min Yuharhib, der in zwei Fällen (Kat. 37. 70) seine Widmungen im Bar'an-Tempel hinterläßt.

Hinzu kommt noch J 564, eine Inschrift aus dem 'Awām-Tempel, in der ein Führer des östlich von Šan'ā' ansässigen Stammes Gaymān dem 'Almaqah eine Statuette anlässlich der erfolgreichen Thronbesteigung des Bata'idēn Karib'il Watar Yuhan'im (II.), des Sohnes des Sabäerkönigs Wahab'il Yāhūz, widmet. In der Schlußinvokation ist an erster Stelle das traditionelle sabäische Pantheon und dabei u. a. auch der in Bar'an residierende 'Almaqah genannt⁴³. Karib'il Watar Yuhan'im (II.) ist Vorgänger und Koregent des Yarim 'Ayman, des Vaters von 'Alhān Nahfān, und wird in den 80er Jahren des 2. nachchristlichen Jhs. angesetzt⁴⁴. Damit können wir eine mehr oder weniger zeitlich lückenhafte epigraphische Belegung des Bar'an-Tempels von knapp 100 Jahren, von 180 bis um 270 n. Chr., nachweisen.

Es ist also keineswegs so, daß der Bar'an-Tempel in nachchristlicher Zeit nur ein kleines Lokalheiligtum gewesen ist, in dem lediglich Privatpersonen ihre Votivgaben hinterlassen haben. Auch wenn aufgrund des fehlenden epigraphischen Befundes davon auszugehen ist, daß wir in nachaltsabäischer Zeit mit einem allgemeinen Niedergang zu rechnen haben, von dem nicht nur das Heiligtum betroffen, sondern in den die gesamte Oase von Mārib involviert ist, so wird doch durch die Vielzahl von Dedikationen aus nachchristlicher Zeit offenkundig, daß insbesondere im 2. und 3. Jh. Heiligtum und Kultus des 'Almaqah von Bar'an, wenn nicht eine massive, so doch spürbare Aufwertung erfahren haben, was nicht zuletzt durch die epigraphische Präsenz mehrerer Generationen sabäischer Könige belegt wird.

Ein nach wie vor ungelöstes Problem, welches abschließend wenigstens angesprochen sei, bilden die verschiedenen Beinamen des 'Almaqah von Bar'an. Seit den Anfängen der Sabäistik ist der Name der Gottheit in dieser Form oder – präziser ausgedrückt – in Form von »'Almaqah, Herr von Bar'an« gebräuchlich und geht, wie schon gesagt,

auf das zweizeilige Verbot am nördlichen Säulenstumpf des Propylon (Kat. 56) zurück, in dem sowohl 'Almaqah, der Herr von Bar'an (*'lmqh b'l br'n*), als auch das Heiligtum Bar'an (*mḥrmm br'n*) explizite genannt sind.

Wie eine Durchsicht der bislang bekannten Inschriften einschließlich aller Fragmente zeigt, ist diese Namensform allerdings nicht die geläufige. In den Dedikationen der altsabäischen Zeit wird 'Almaqah bekanntlich ohne Beinamen angesprochen, wie es nicht nur in den Widmungen aus dem Bar'an, sondern etwa auch in jenen aus dem nahegelegenen 'Awām oder aus dem 'Almaqah-Tempel in Širwāh der Fall ist. Die Ausnahme stellt der schon genannte Erlaß des Tempelverwalters und der Tempelvorsteher dar, in dem von 'Almaqah in Bar'um die Rede ist (Kat. 54)⁴⁵.

Wenn wir nun die Widmungen aus späterer Zeit auf den Beinamen »Herr von Bar'an« hin überprüfen, so findet sich dieser lediglich in zwei Dedikationen aus der mittelsabäischen Periode, und zwar einmal in Kat. 36⁴⁶ und in J 535/6 f. = Kat. 46⁴⁷. In beiden Fällen steht der Name mit Titulatur nicht in der Eingangsformulierung der Widmung nach dem Schlüsselwort *hqny*, sondern erscheint im Text erst an späterer Stelle⁴⁸. Mit anderen Worten: Aus den Eingangsformulierungen der Widmungen aus nachaltsabäischer Zeit ist bislang kein Fall bekannt, in dem 'Almaqah mit dem Epitheton »Herr von Bar'an« belegt wird. Vielmehr wird die Gottheit in der Eingangsformulierung der Widmungen mit

⁴² In dem Kalksteinfragment Kat. 71 ist lediglich der Rest der Königstitulatur erhalten.

⁴³ J 564/29: *w'lmqh / b'l / mskt / wyyw / br'n*.

⁴⁴ C. J. Robin, Sheba dans les inscriptions d'Arabie du Sud, in: *Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible* (1996) 1135.

⁴⁵ Die Form mit Mīm, die auch in Kat. 29 in dem Titel eines Verwalters von Bar'um (*qym br'm*) bezeugt ist, ist in altsabäischer Zeit die als üblich anzusetzende. Man vergleiche *slhm*, den Namen des Königspalastes von Mārib in der Inschrift des Karib'il Watar R 3946/5, neben *slhn* in den mittelsabäischen Inschriften.

⁴⁶ *'lmqhb' br'yn*, das Y in dem Tempelnamen ist kein Schreibfehler, sondern begegnet auch in C 314+954/12 = Kat. 34 und deutet auf ein langes /ē/ hin.

⁴⁷ *b-'lmqbw b'l br'n*.

⁴⁸ In Kat. 36, bei der der Anfang nicht erhalten ist, erscheint 'Almaqah in der Schlußanrufung jedoch wieder mit Doppel titulatur. In J 535/2 = Kat. 46 ist auf der von A. Jamme lediglich als Abzeichnung veröffentlichten Inschrift 'Almaqah ohne Beinamen anhand der Spuren zu ergänzen.

der Doppeltitulatur *b'l mskt w-ytw br'n*⁴⁹ und in einem Fall (Kat. 45) mit deren zweitem Bestandteil *b'l ytw br'n* angesprochen.

Wenn wir nach einer Erklärung für die verschiedenen Beinamen suchen, so scheint es zunächst, als hätte die Gottheit zu verschiedenen Zeiten auch verschiedene Beinamen getragen. Das zweizeilige Verbot, das 'Almaqah als Herrn von Bar'an ausweist, stammt eindeutig aus nachaltsabäischer vorchristlicher Zeit, während das Epitheton *b'l mskt w-ytw br'n* ausschließlich in Dedikationen der nachchristlichen Zeit Verwendung findet.

Dieser erste Eindruck wird aber bei einer eingehenderen Durchsicht der betreffenden Dedikationen nicht bestätigt. So ist in der frühesten Widmung aus nachaltsabäischer Zeit (Kat. 30), die ihrer Paläographie nach approximativ um 200 v. Chr. (und vielleicht sogar noch ein wenig früher) anzusetzen ist, in Z. 1 nach *ḥqny* der Name der Gottheit eindeutig als *'lmqh/b'l/y[]* zu lesen. Dieser kann aber unter Bezugnahme auf die aus nachchrist-

licher Zeit stammende Widmung einer Bronzelöwin (Kat. 45) schwerlich anders als zu *'lmqh/b'l/y[tw br'n]* ergänzt werden. Damit ist zumindest der zweite Bestandteil der Doppeltitulatur bereits verhältnismäßig früh bezeugt. Wir können daher durchaus mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit annehmen, daß die Doppeltitulatur nicht erst in nachchristlicher Zeit aufgekommen ist, aus der bekanntlich der Großteil der Statuettenwidmungen stammt, sondern schon in den Dedikationen der ersten drei vorchristlichen Jahrhunderte als Beiname des 'Almaqah von Bar'an gebräuchlich war, aus welchem Zeitraum wir aus dem Bar'an keine weiteren Widmungen besitzen. Auch wenn wir derzeit nicht wissen, welche Bewandnis es im einzelnen mit der Doppeltitulatur des 'Almaqah hat, so können wir doch sagen, daß ihr Aufkommen in eine Zeit fällt, die für das sabäische Kernland um Mārib und Širwāḥ nicht nur politisch, sondern auch in sprachlicher und kultureller Hinsicht eine deutliche Zäsur darstellt.

⁴⁹ Vgl. Kat. 33. 34. 35. 37. 39. 42–44, ferner in der Aufschrift Kat. 72; in Kat. 38 ist die Eingangsformulierung nicht erhalten, die Doppeltitulatur erscheint jedoch in der Invokation.

ANHANG: KATALOG DER INSCRIFTEN AUS DEM BAR'ÂN-TEMPEL

VORBEMERKUNGEN

Unter den 73 im folgenden aufgeführten Inschriften und Inschriftenfragmenten sind auch neun Nummern aufgenommen, die – teils schon lange bekannt und publiziert – eindeutig diesem Heiligtum zugewiesen werden können⁵⁰. Ebenfalls aufgenommen wurden mit Kat. 39 und Kat. 45 zwei unveröffentlichte Widmungen aus der Muḥāfazat Mārib, die nicht im Rahmen der Ausgrabungen gefunden wurden, aber aufgrund des Beinamens des 'Almaqah zweifelsfrei aus dem Heiligtum stammen.

Der Katalog ist zuvorderst nach Inschriftengattungen angeordnet, wobei die Widmungen als die zahlenmäßig weitaus größte Gruppe nach den einzelnen Gottheiten unterschieden werden. Unter diesen sind wiederum die an 'Almaqah gerichteten Dedikationen in der Mehrzahl, die ihrerseits danach aufgeschlüsselt werden, ob ein Widmungsobjekt genannt ist, nach welchem, sofern vorhanden, weiter differenziert wird. Innerhalb eines Unterpunktes sind die Inschriften chronologisch angeordnet, wobei für die altsabäische Zeit (aSab) die Grobdatierung in die drei Phasen A, B und C in oben dargelegtem Sinne vorgenommen wird. Die Beispiele der nachaltsabäischen vorchristlichen Zeit sind versuchsweise mit Jahreszahlen versehen. Von den Inschriften aus der mittelsabäischen Periode (mSab) sind zuerst alle nach Herrschern datierbaren Schriftzeugnisse aufgeführt, im Anschluß folgen die eindeutig aus den ersten drei nachchristlichen Jahrhunderten einzuordnenden Nummern, die nicht weiter paläographisch aufgegliedert sind. Unter einem letzten Punkt sind stark fragmentarische Inschriften und kleine, aber paläographisch und z.T. prosopographisch aussagekräftige Stücke aufgeführt, die ebenso wie die erhaltenen oder leicht fragmentarischen Stücke mit Siglen⁵¹ versehen wurden und mit der möglichen Ausnahme von Kat. 72 durchweg Fragmente von Widmungen darstellen. Innerhalb der Widmungen – und in Abwandlung bei den anderen Textgattungen – wurden für Inschriftenträger, Stifter, Gottheit als Adressat der Dedikation und gegebenenfalls Widmungsobjekt sowie Herrschernennung⁵² und Datierung entsprechende Rubriken eingerichtet. Können aufgrund des fragmentarischen Erhal-

tungszustandes keine Angaben gemacht werden, so wird dies durch [] gekennzeichnet. Sollte die Gottheit oder der Tempelname in der Eingangsformulierung nicht erhalten, im weiteren Textverlauf in irgendeiner Form genannt sein, so wird diese bzw. dieser nach den eckigen Klammern mit Strichpunkt abgesetzt, wie auch alle weiteren Beispiele für ein Stichwort innerhalb der betreffenden Inschrift mit Strichpunkten abgesetzt aufgeführt werden. Ein nicht ausgedrücktes Widmungsobjekt o. a. wird dagegen mit – angegeben. Der folgende Katalog dient als erste Übersicht und grobe Orientierung für die vorhergehenden Ausführungen. Eine detaillierte Behandlung der Bar'ân-Inschriften mit ausführlicher fotografischer Dokumentation wird in einem der folgenden Bände der »Epigraphische(n) Forschungen auf der Arabischen Halbinsel« vorgelegt werden.

1. WIDMUNGEN FÜR 'ALMAQAH

1.1 Widmungsobjekt nicht genannt

1 DAI Bar'ân 1994/5–5

Träger: Messerklinge

Stifter:] ṣbym

Adressat: 'lmaqḥ

Datierung: aSabA

2 DAI Bar'ân 1990/1–18

Träger: Steinbockrelief-Fragmente

Stifter: ['m']rbmw bn gdm

Adressat: 'lmaqḥ

Herrscher: (Diener ('bd) des) yd'ī

Datierung: aSabB–C

⁵⁰ Vgl. o. Anm. 7. Davon haben allerdings nur C 400 und F 52 ein DAI-Signum erhalten, da beide Inschriften im Zuge der Ausgrabungen auf dem Gelände dokumentiert worden sind.

⁵¹ Diese sind so angelegt, daß auf die wissenschaftliche Institution (DAI) das Fundjahr und der mit Bindestrich abgesetzte Numerus currens folgt.

⁵² Ist der Herrscher oder König als Rektum in einen Funktionstitel eingebunden, so wird dieser in Übersetzung mit dem sabäischen Ausdruck in runden Klammern mit aufgeführt. Ebenso werden unter dieser Rubrik auch Eponymen aufgenommen.

- 3 DAI Bar'an 1990-9 = Nebes (2000) 17 Nr. 6
Träger: Steinbockrelief
Stifter: *yē'krb bn smhkrb bn 'nnn*
Adressat: *'lmqh*
Herrscher: (Verwalter (*qyn*) des) *yd'ʿl w-yē'mr w-krb'l*
Datierung: aSabC
- 4 DAI Bar'an 1990/1-3 = Nebes (2000) 16 Nr. 4
Träger: Steinbockrelief
Stifter: *yē'krb bn smhkrb bn 'nnn*
Adressat: *'lmqh*
Herrscher: (Verwalter (*qyn*) des) *yd'ʿl w-yē'mr w-krb'l*
Datierung: aSabC
- 5 DAI Bar'an 1990/1-4 = Nebes (2000) 16 Nr. 5
Träger: Steinbank
Stifter: *[yē'krb bn s]mhkrb bn 'nnn*
Adressat: *'lmqh*
Datierung: aSabC
- 6 DAI Bar'an 1990/1-2 = Nebes (2000) 16 Nr. 3
Träger: Quaderstein der Hofmauer
Stifter: *m'dkrb bn 'm'ns bn lqfm*
Adressat: *'lmqh*
Datierung: aSabC
- 7 DAI Bar'an 1990/1-1 = Nebes (2000) 16 Nr. 3
Träger: Quaderstein der Hofmauer
Stifter: *m'dkrb bn ['m]ns bn lqfm*
Adressat: *'lmqh*
Datierung: aSabC
- 8 DAI Bar'an 1990/1-10 = Nebes (2000) 17 Nr. 7
Träger: Quaderstein der Hofmauer
Stifter: *'myd' bn yhyē' d-qyn*
Adressat: *'lmqh*
Herrscher: (Diener (*'bd*) des) *yd'ʿl w-yē'mr*
Datierung: aSabC
- 9 DAI Bar'an 1988-3 = Nebes (2000) 16 Nr. 1
Träger: Kalksteinquader
Stifter: *wād'ʿl bn 'mkrb bn lwt*
Adressat: *'lmqh*
Herrscher: *w-b yē'mr*
Datierung: aSabC
- 10 DAI Bar'an 1990/1-15 + 1991-5
Träger: Tischaltar
Stifter: *šbhbmw d-tldn smyn*
Adressat: *'lmqh; b-'lmqh BR'N* (als Monogramm)
Datierung: aSabC
- 1.2 Widmungen von Personen
- 11 DAI Bar'an 1988-2 = Seipel 325 Nr. 240
Träger: Altarblock
Stifter: *b'ttr bn swdm bn nw'm nhmyn*
Adressat: *'lmqh*
Widmungsobjekt: Person (oder Altar?) *fr't*
Herrscher und Eponym: *w-b yd'ʿl w-b m'dkrb*
Datierung: aSabB
- 12 DAI Bar'an 1994/5-2
Träger: Altarblock
Stifter: *b'ttr bn swdm bn nw'm nhmyn*
Adressat: *'lmqh*
Widmungsobjekt: Person (oder Altar?) *fr't*
Herrscher und Eponym: *w-b yd'ʿl w-b m'dkrb*
Datierung: aSabB
- 13 DAI Bar'an 1996-1
Träger: Altarblock
Stifter: *b'ttr bn swdm bn nw'm nhmyn*
Adressat: *'lmqh*
Widmungsobjekt: Person (oder Altar?) *fr't*
Herrscher und Eponym: *w-b yd'ʿl w-b m'dkrb*
Datierung: aSabB
- 14 DAI Bar'an 1994-1
Träger: Rötlich eingefärbter Alabasterblock, aus drei Fragmenten bestehend
Stifter: *b'ttr ... bn r[']shmw bn ybn[m]*
Adressat: *'lmq[h]*
Widmungsobjekt: Nachkommen (*kl wldhw*)
Herrscher: *w-b yd'ʿl*
Datierung: aSabC
- 15 F 52 = J 533 = DAI Bar'an 1990-6
Träger: Altarblock
Stifter: *'l'mr bn 'm'hr bn 'kln*
Adressat: *'lmqh*
Widmungsobjekt: Person *dmryd'*
Datierung: aSabC
- 16 DAI Bar'an 1990/1-5
Träger: Altarblock
Stifter: *'l'mr bn 'm'hr bn 'ē[kl]n*
Adressat: *'lmqh*
Widmungsobjekt: Person *yē'rdm*
Datierung: aSabC
- 17 DAI Bar'an 1990/1-9
Träger: Altarblock
Stifter: *['m]rhmw w-r'shmw w-yē'm bnw*

- 'lhmw d-hyr'l*
 Adressat: *'lmqb*
 Widmungsobjekt: Person (?) *'wdm*
 Datierung: aSabC
- 18 DAI Bar'ān 1994–5
 Träger: Altarblock
 Stifter: *'mrhmw w-r'shm[w w-yē']m bntw*
'lhm[w] d-hyr[l]
 Adressat: *'lmqb*
 Widmungsobjekt: Person *ǧfrt*
 Datierung: aSabC
- 19 DAI Bar'ān 1990/1–17
 Träger: Altarblock aus Tisch und Basis
 Stifter: *[ybm't grby[n]*
 Adressat: *'lmqb*
 Widmungsobjekt: Person (*bnhmy*) [*]*
 Datierung: aSabC
- 20 DAI Bar'ān 1991–6
 Träger: Tischaltarfragment
 Stifter: *]ttr*
 Adressat: *'lmqb*
 Widmungsobjekt: Person *'b'ns*
 Datierung: aSabC
- 21 DAI Bar'ān 1991–1 = Nebes (2000) 16 Nr. 2
 = Seipel 324 Nr. 237
 Träger: Steinbockrelief
 Stifter: *'mkrb bn r'shmw d-šqr*
 Adressat: *'lmqb*
 Widmungsobjekt: Nachkommen (*kl wldhw*)
 Herrscher: (Vertrauter (*mwdd*) des) *smh'ly*
w-yē'mr; w-b smh'ly w-b yē'mr
 Datierung: aSabC
- 1.3 Widmungen von Land
- 22 DAI Bar'ān 1990/1–14
 Träger: Steinbockrelief-Fragment
 Stifter: *h'lk'mr bn g[dnm]*
 Adressat: *'lmqb*
 Widmungsobjekt: Palmgarten Ḥaḏīrum
 (*nḥlhw ḥzrm*)
 Herrscher: *b-yd''l*
 Datierung: aSabB–C
- 23 DAI Bar'ān 1990/1–8
 Träger: Steinbockrelief-Fragment
 Stifter: [*]*
 Adressat: *'lmqb*
 Widmungsobjekt: Land Maḥalatum
 (*'rḏbw mnḥltm*)
- Herrscher: ([Verwalter (*qym*)? des]) [*yd'*]
] w-yē'mr w-krb'l
 Datierung: aSabC
- 24 DAI Bar'ān 1990–5 = Seipel 322–325 Nr. 239
 Träger: Altarblock
 Stifter: *'mrhmw w-r'shmw w-yē'm bntw* *'lhmw*
d-hyr'l
 Adressat: *'lmqb*
 Widmungsobjekt: Land 'Aḥzarum (*'rḏhmw ḥzrm*)
 Datierung: aSabC
- 25 DAI Bar'ān 2000–5
 Träger: Altarblock
 Stifter: *[m]rhmw w-r'shmw [w-yē'm bntw* *'lhmw*
d-hyr'l
 Adressat: *'lmqb*
 Widmungsobjekt: Land MLGM (*'rḏhmw mlgm*)
 Datierung: aSabC
- 26 F 53+54 = J 532
 Träger: Altarblock
 Stifter: *'mrhmw w-r'shmw w-yē'm bntw* *'lhmw*
d-hyr'l
 Adressat: *'lmqb*
 Widmungsobjekt: Land Ramādum (*'rḏbmw rmdm*)
 Datierung: aSabC
- 1.4 Widmungen von Baulichkeiten
- 27 DAI Bar'ān 1990/1–6 = Nebes (2000) 17 Nr. 8
 Träger: Brunnenplatte
 Stifter: *lhy'tt bn šbḥm d-ryṭn*
 Adressat: *'lmqb*
 Widmungsobjekt: Brunnen Nabaṭum (*b'm nbṭm*)
 Herrscher: *w-b yd''l*
 Datierung: aSabB
- 28 DAI Bar'ān 1991–3 = Nebes (2000) 17 Nr. 9
 Träger: Überlaufbecken
 Stifter: [*]*
 Adressat: *'lmqb*
 Widmungsobjekt: Alle Baulichkeiten (*kl mbny*)
 von [*]*
 Datierung: aSabC
- 1.5 Widmung eines Altars und Nachkommen
- 29 DAI Bar'ān 2000–8
 Träger: Altar bestehend aus Basis und Opferplatte
 Stifter: *yfd'l bn wāq'l bn šbḥm mlḥyn*
 Adressat: *'lmqb*

Widmungsobjekt: Steinaltar 'šz und Nachkommen
(w-kl wldbw)
Datierung: aSabB

Adressat: 'lmqhb 'lmsktwytwbr'n; b-br'n
Widmungsobjekt: Zwei Bronzestatuetten
(šlmnhn d-dbbn)
Herrscher: 'šrh yḥḏb w-'ḥyhw y'zl byn
Datierung: Um 250 n. Chr.

1.6 Widmungen von Statuetten

30 DAI Bar'an 1994–4
Träger: Kalksteinplatte
Stifter:] d-nḥtn
Adressat: 'lmqh b'l y[zw br'n]; vgl. Kat. 45
Widmungsobjekt: Statuette (mḥln)
Datierung: Um 200 v. Chr.

31 C 401
Träger: Kalksteinfragment
Stifter: [], w-krb'ṭt ḥnnyn
Adressat: [], vermutlich 'lmqh; b-br'n,
Widmungsobjekt: [], vermutlich Statuette
Herrscher: ['lhn nhfn w-bnyhw š'rm 'wtr mlky] sb'
bny yrm 'ymn mlk sb'
Datierung: Um 200 n. Chr.

32 DAI Bar'an 2000–2
Träger: Rechteckiges Kalksteinblock-Fragment
Stifter: []
Adressat: [], vermutlich 'lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: [], vermutlich Statuette
Herrscher: ['lḥn nhfn w-bn[yhw š'rm 'w]tr
Datierung: Um 200 n. Chr.

33 DAI Bar'an 2000–1
Träger: Rechteckiges Kalksteinblock-Fragment
Stifter: [š'rm 'w]r ... [bn 'lḥn nhfn
Adressat: 'lmqh b'l mskt wytw b[r']n
Widmungsobjekt: [], vermutlich Statuette u. a.
Herrscher: s. Stifter
Datierung: Um 210–230 n. Chr.

34 C 314+954
Träger: Kalksteinblock
Stifter: rššsm̄n yzḏ bñ s[rm w-mḥylm
[w-mwḏ[']m [w-šmkm ... w-whb[']w]m y'df bñ
gdnm w-ḥḏwt
Adressat: 'lmqhb 'lmsktwytwbr'n; 'lmqhbbr'yn
Widmungsobjekt: Zwei Bronzestatuetten
(šlmnhn d-dbbn)
Herrscher: 'šrh yḥḏb w-'ḥyhw y'zl byn
Datierung: Um 250 n. Chr.

35 E 69
Träger: Kalksteinblock
Stifter: whb'wm y'df d-gdnm w-ḥḏwt w-krb'ṭt
š'd bñ s'rm w-mḥylm w-mwḏ'm w-šmkm

36 DAI Bar'an 1994–3
Träger: Kalksteinblock
Stifter: rḏ'lw bn ḥlḥlm w-šbr
Adressat: [], 'lmqhb'l br'yn;
b-'lmqhb 'lmsktwytwbr'yn
Widmungsobjekt: [], vermutlich Statuette
Herrscher: 'šrh yḥḏb w-'ḥyhw y'zl byn
Datierung: Um 250 n. Chr.

37 J 877
Träger: Kalksteinblock
Stifter: nš'krb [y']mn yhrḥḥ
Adressat: 'lmqhḥwbn 'lmsktwytwbr'n;
b-'[lmqhḥwbn 'lmsktwytwb[r']n
Widmungsobjekt: Bronzestatuetten (šlmn d-dbbn)
Herrscher: s. Stifter
Datierung: Um 260–270 n. Chr.

38 DAI Bar'an 1990/1–13
Träger: Kalksteinblock-Fragment
Stifter: []
Adressat: [], b-'lmqhb 'lms[ktwytw]br'n
Widmungsobjekt: [], vermutlich Statuette
Herrscher: [nš']krb y'mn yhrḥ[b]
Datierung: 260–70 n. Chr.

39 Mārib Muḥāfaẓa 17
Träger: Kalksteinblock
Stifter: ws'm bn wdm
Adressat: 'lm[q]h b'l mskt wytw br'n
Widmungsobjekt: Statuette (š[']mn)
Datierung: mSab

40 DAI Bar'an 1990–4
Träger: Kalksteinblock
Stifter: [b'l w-whb[']msm] bny 'rgn
Adressat: 'lmqh[w[']b[']y'ṭwn
Widmungsobjekt: Statuette (šlmn)
Datierung: mSab

41 DAI Bar'an 1990/1–11
Träger: Kalksteinblock
Stifterin: [], ḥlykm
Adressat: [], 'lmq[h]
Widmungsobjekt: [], vermutlich Statuette
Datierung: mSab

42 DAI Bar'an 1990/1–12

Träger: Obere Hälfte eines Kalksteinblocks

Stifter: *ṭwb'l ḥwlyn 'mlḥn*

Adressat: *'lmqḥw b'l mskt wyṭw br'n*

Widmungsobjekt: Statuette (*šlmn*)

Datierung: mSab

43 DAI Bar'an 2000–3

Träger: Rötlich eingefärbter Kalksteinblock

Stifter: *rḥnsrm w-bnyḥw whbšmsm*

Adressat: *'lmqḥb'lmskt wyṭw br'n*;
b-'lmqḥb'lmskt wyṭw br'n

Widmungsobjekt: Zwei Bronzestatuetten

(*šlm[n]ḥm ḏ-ḏḥbn*)

Datierung: mSab

44 C 404

Träger: Kalksteinblock-Fragment

Stifter: []

Adressat: [*'lm]qḥ b'l mskt wyṭw br'[n]*

Widmungsobjekt: [], vermutlich Statuette

Eponym: *k]rb bn ṭb'krb bn f[ḏḥm]*

Datierung: mSab

45 Mārib Muḥāfaẓa 12

Träger: Rötlich eingefärbter Kalksteinblock

Stifter: *m'dkrb bn wdm*

Adressat: *'lmqḥ b'l yṭw br'n*; *b-'lmqḥ*

Widmungsobjekt: Löwin aus Bronze

(*lb'n ḏt ḏḥbn*)

Datierung: mSab

46 J 535

Träger: Kalksteinblock

Stifter: []

Adressat: [*ṭ]mqḥ; b-'lmqḥw b'l br'n*

Widmungsobjekt: Kamelstatuette aus Bronze

(*'blm ḏ-ḏḥbm*)

Datierung: mSab

2. WIDMUNGEN FÜR ANDERE GOTTHEITEN

2.1 Widmung für 'Aṭtar

47 DAI Bar'an 1996–4

Träger: Räucheraltar

Stifter: –

Adressat: *l-'ṭtr*

Widmungsobjekt: –

Datierung: Um 100 v. Chr.?

2.2 Widmungen für Hawbas

48 DAI Bar'an 1994–2

Träger: Treppenartiger Kalksteinsockel

Stifter: [*f]ḏḥm w-šbḥm [b]n ifqḥmw w-mlḥḥmw*

Adressat: *ḥwbs*

Widmungsobjekt: Person *ḥbr'l*

Datierung: aSabA

49 DAI Bar'an 1994–10 = Seipel 86. 89 Nr. 24

Träger: Runder Räucheraltar

Stifter: *'m'm[r b]n nbṭ'l bn ṭ*

Adressat: *ḥwbs*

Widmungsobjekt: –

Datierung: aSabC

2.3 Widmungen für Šams

50 DAI Bar'an 1990/1–16

Träger: Räucheraltar

Stifter: Diener (*'bd*) des *'ktbn*

Adressat: Šams in *bry šms*

Widmungsobjekt: –

Datierung: mSab

51 DAI Bar'an 2000–6

Träger: Räucheraltar

Stifter: –

Adressat: Šams in *bry šms*

Widmungsobjekt: –

Datierung: mSab

2.4 Widmung für 'Azīzlāt

52 DAI Bar'an 1991–4

Träger: Rötlich eingefärbter Kalksteinblock

Stifter: [*rw]bn'm w-ṭwbn'm bni 'lt d'bāt*

Adressat: *'lḥn 'zzlt b'l 'ḏdn*

Widmungsobjekt: Zwei Statuetten (*šlmtnbn*)

Datierung: mSab

2.5 Widmung für Nasrum

53 DAI Bar'an 1994/5–3

Träger: Kalksteinblock-Fragment

Stifter: [], männliche Person

Adressat: *nšrm*

Widmungsobjekt: [], vermutlich Statuette

Datierung: mSab

3. INSCRIFTEN JURISTISCHEN INHALTS

54 DAI Bar'an 1990-1 = Nebes (1992)

162 = Nebes (2000) 18 Nr. 10

Träger: Quaderstein der Hofmauer

Autor: 'm'mr, Vorsteher der Verwalter von Bar'um
(kbr qyn br'm), und alle anderen Vorsteher von
Bar'um ('qyn br'm)

Gottheit: 'lmqb b-br'm

Inhalt: Ziegen, die sich der Tempelmauer nähern,
sollen geschlachtet werden

Rechtsformular: Erlaß (flythmw)

Datierung: aSabC

55 DAI Bar'an 1994/5-1

Träger: Säulenfragment

Autor: »Gemeinschaft« der Verwalter von Bar'an
(š'bn qyn br'n)Inhalt: Zuständigkeit des r'shmmw für Bauteile des
Tempels

Rechtsformular: Bekanntmachung (dt ydkern)

Datierung: Um 150 v. Chr.

56 C 400 = J 551bis = J 534 = DAI Bar'an 1988-1

Träger: Propylonstumpf

Autor: –

Inhalt: Verbot, Silber (oder Aromata oder andere
Gegenstände; šrf) aus dem Heiligtum Bar'an
(mhrrmn br'n) zu entfernen

Rechtsformular: Verbot (w-l šn)

Gottheit: 'lmqb b'l br'n

Datierung: Um 100 v. Chr.

57 DAI Bar'an 1990/1-7

Träger: Brunnenplatte

Autor: []; hmm (?)

Inhalt: Beurkundung des hmm gegenüber dem
ms'dm über 48 ZMRN (tmm w-'rb'y zmm)Rechtsformular: [], vielleicht »Übergabe-
urkunde« (wtf)

Eponym: tb'krb bn nš'krb bn hzfr̄m

Datierung: mSab

4. BAUINSCRIPT

58 DAI Bar'an 1990-2 = Nebes (1992)

163 = Nebes (2000) 18 Nr. 11

Träger: Quaderstein mit ausgemeißelten Buchsta-
ben am SüdturmErbauer: [], Vorsteher des Stammes TRQY ('kbrw
š'bn d-trqy)

Bautätigkeit: jw w-hwgrn w-hšgrn

Bauobjekt: Obergeschoß Rahāb des Hauses Ša'bān
in der Stadt Marda'um (šr̄thmw r̄hb šr̄t bythmw
š'bn b-wšg hgrhmw mrd'm)

Datierung: mSab

5. STARKE FRAGMENTARISCHE INSCRIFTEN

59 DAI Bar'an 1990/1-20

Träger: Steinbockrelief-Fragment

Stifter: šhmbhr []

Adressat: [], vermutlich 'lmqb

Widmungsobjekt: []

Datierung: aSabB-C

60 DAI Bar'an 1990/1-21

Träger: Steinbockrelief-Fragment

Stifter: 'mšq bn []

Adressat: [], vermutlich 'lmqb

Widmungsobjekt: []

Herrscher:] smh'ly w-yd'!

Datierung: aSabB-C

61 DAI Bar'an 1991-7

Träger: Steinbockrelief-Fragmente

Stifter:]hn bn yt'm

Widmungsobjekt: –

Herrscher o. ä.: (Diener ('bd) des) 'mšq bn šānm;
w-b-'mšq w-blk'mr b[n g]dnn

Datierung: aSabB-C

62 DAI Bar'an 2000-4

Träger: Steinbockrelief-Fragmente

Stifter:]mtr

Adressat: [], vermutlich 'lmqb

Widmungsobjekt: []

Herrscher o. ä.: (Vorsteher (kbr) der 'WHR des)
'mšq

Datierung: aSabB-C

63 DAI Bar'an 2000-9

Träger: Kalksteinblock-Fragment

Stifter: dr' gr[byn]

Adressat: [], vermutlich 'lmqb

Widmungsobjekt: []

Datierung: aSabB-C

64 DAI Bar'an 1994/5-6

Träger: Kalksteinblock-Fragment

Stifter:]b

Adressat: []

Widmungsobjekt: []

Herrscher o. ä.: (Diener ('bd) des) ydmrml[k]

Datierung: aSabB-C

- 65 DAI Bar'an 1990-3
Träger: Kalksteinblock-Fragment
Stifter: []
Adressat: []
Widmungsobjekt: Räuchergefäß (*bḥtm*) und *mzb*['t]
Datierung: aSabC
- 66 DAI Bar'an 1991-2
Träger: Steinblockfragment
Stifter: *yḫ'krb bn smḥkrb bn 'nn[n]*
Adressat: [], vermutlich 'lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: –
Datierung: aSabC
- 67 DAI Bar'an 1994-6
Träger: Altarblockfragment
Stifter: *kjrb bn gdnm*
Adressat: 'lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: M[, vermutlich Person
Herrscher: (Diener ([']bd) des) *krb'l*
Datierung: aSabC
- 68 DAI Bar'an 1990/1-19
Träger: Steinbockrelief-Fragmente
Stifter: []
Adressat: [], vermutlich 'lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: Person *ḡ'bm*
Datierung: aSabC
- 69 DAI Bar'an 1994-9
Träger: Kalksteinfragment
Stifter: []
Adressat: [], vermutlich 'lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: [], vermutlich Statuette
Herrscher: *'lsh ybd[b]*
Datierung: Um 250 n. Chr.
- 70 DAI Bar'an 1994-7 + 1994/5-4
Träger: Kalksteinfragmente
Stifter: *ns'krb y'mn yhrhb*
Adressat: [], vermutlich 'lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: [], vermutlich Statuette
Herrscher: s. Stifter
Datierung: Um 260-70 n. Chr.
- 71 DAI Bar'an 1988-4
Träger: Kalksteinfragment
Stifter: []
Adressat: [], vermutlich 'lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: [], vermutlich Statuette
Herrscher:] *sḡ' w-d-rydn*
Datierung: mSab
- 72 DAI Bar'an 2000-7
Träger: Kalksteinblock
Aufschrift: 'lmqh]w *b'l mskt wyḡw br'n*
Datierung: mSab
- 73 DAI Bar'an 1994-8
Träger: Zahlreiche kleine Kalksteinfragmente
Stifter: []
Adressat: [], vermutlich 'lmqh
Widmungsobjekt: [], vermutlich Statuette
Datierung: mSab

Anschrift:

Prof. Dr. Norbert Nebes, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität, Institut für Sprachen und Kulturen des Vorderen Orients, Löbdergraben 24 a, D-07743 Jena, gnn@rz.uni-jena.de

حول التسلسل الزمني لنقوش معبد برآن

نُوربرت نيبس

(Norbert Nebes)

الخلاصة:

يدور موضوع معظم النقوش - الكاملة منها ، والناقصة المعبرة - التي في حوزتنا من معبد برآن والبالغ عددها 73 حول تكاريس للإله المقه. ويرجع ما يربو بكثير على نصف تلك التكاريس إلى العصر السبني القديم ، حيث تسمح المادة الإبيغرافية العائدة إلى ذلك العصر بالتفريق بين ثلاث مراحل من منظور الجيولوجيا. ولقد صيغت معظم التكاريس في المرحلة الثالثة والأخيرة التي نستطيع - بالرجوع إلى أسناد بروسيووغرافية متاحة - أن نعزوها إلى القرن الخامس قبل الميلاد. فهذا هو الزمن الذي شيدت فيه أيضا الأجزاء الرئيسية - التي يمكننا رؤيتها اليوم - لمعبد رقم 4 بصحنه وأرضيته وأعمدته وسلمه الفخم. ويعود البعض القليل من النقوش المكرسة - بناء على أشكال الحروف - إلى عهد كزييل وتُر حوالى عام 685 قبل الميلاد. هذا ؛ ونحن على شيء من اليقين أن نقشين من التكاريس قد حفرا في زمن أبعد.

ويدور بالتالي موضوع الجزء الأكبر من نقوش الزمن المتأخر - كما هو متوقع أيضا بالنسبة للعصر السبني الوسيط - حول تكاريس على تماثيل صغيرة صيغت في للقرون الثلاثة الأولى بعد الميلاد. وبناء على عدد من الملوك السبنيين المعروفين المذكورين في تلك التكاريس أو الذين قاموا بإعدادها في بعض الحالات بأنفسهم يمكننا أن نتصور استخدام المعبد قرابة 100 عام ، من حوالى سنة 180 حتى سنة 270 ميلادية ، دون فترة انقطاع زمنية. ولا توجد أدلة في برآن على وجود تكاريس لملوك حميريين كما نعرفهم من أوام منذ يَسْرُم يُهْنَعِم ، وشمُر يُهْرَعِش. وإلى جانب ذلك فقد أدى فحص حفري دقيق لوثائق مكتوبة ترجع إلى فترة مابعد العصر السبني القديم إلى نتيجة إضافية تقول إن التكاريس ليست موجهة إلى المقه رب برآن (ع ل م ق هـ / ب ع ل / ب ر ع ن) ، وإن الإله كان يخاطب - إلا في بعض حالات استثنائية قليلة - باسم "رب مسكنت والذي يقطن في برآن" (ب ع ل / م س ك ت - و - ي ث و / ب ر ع ن) مع اعتبار هذه الترجمة مؤقتة ، كما هو معروف من ذي قبل ، لأن هذا التلقب لم يمكن تفسيره تفسيراً مرضياً حتى الآن.

ARABS IN PRE-ISLAMIC SOUTH ARABIA

The mentioning of people called Arabs in the pre-Islamic texts from South Arabia has been commented upon by some scholars in the past. The first one was J. Halévy (1899) followed by A. A. Alsekaf (1985), W. W. Müller (1988), M. A. Bäfaqih (1990) and Ch. Robin (1991)¹. Groups called 'RB or 'RB appear around 40 times in South Arabian Inscriptions, mostly Sabaeen, including the late ones from the Ḥimyarite period (from ca. 275 A.D.). To these should be added the occurrence of the term "RB in the ›long‹ title of the Ḥimyarite kings from the time of 'Abūkarib 'As'ad (first half of the 5th century A.D., cf. Ry 509) until Ma'dīkarib Ya'fur (516 A.D., cf. Ry 510)².

All occurrences except one are found in texts written after the turn of the era. The latest occurrence is in Abraha's stele (CIH 541) dated to the year 543/548 where he tells how he has subjugated 'RB who had raided YZD, a chief of Kinda (KDT), and then employed them in repairing the dam in Marib³. The exception is RÉS 3945 (line 17)⁴. Here, the defeat of the 'RB-M is mentioned between the operations of KRB'L WTR around Nashshān, Nashq and Kaminahu, and the conquest of Nagra'n. The dating of this text is still debated and it could be discussed whether the reference really is to ›Arabs‹. It should be noted that the conquest of the 'RB-M takes place together with that of YDHN and GZRT. 'RB is written with a final -M which might indicate that it is not a regular geographical name but something else. From the context it seems that these 'RB are to be found between al-Jawf and Najra'n.

In this paper I shall make some observations from the South Arabian texts and suggest an identification of these people. If we accept that this word is identical with the 'arab known from the

later Arabic texts and also with the ›Arabs‹ mentioned in other pre-Islamic texts from the report of Salmaneser III about the battle of Qarqar in 853 onwards, it follows that the whole evidence should be taken into account in order to understand who the ›Arabs‹ in South Arabia were. That does not necessarily mean that we automatically should assume that the word always refers to the same kind of people, although we should not exclude that possibility either. More properly speaking, we should not start by claiming that we know what the word means. Determining one's ignorance is a good start for an investigation.

In spite of this, scholarly literature usually see Arabs as something unproblematic. It is said to refer to bedouin, Arabic-speakers, the Arab people, nomads, desert-dwellers etc. and no conflict is usually seen between these different terms⁵. An exception is Halévy who pointed out that 'RB in the Sabaeen texts are defined ›according to their

¹ J. Halévy, *Les arabes dans les inscriptions sabéennes*, *Revue sémitique d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne* 7, 1899, 146–157; A. A. Alsekaf, *La géographie tribale du Yémen antique*, *Diss. Paris III* (1985); M. Görg – H. Lang Benzinger (ed.), *Neues Bibel-Lexikon* (1988) 143–145 s.v. Araber (W. W. Müller); M. A. Bäfaqih, *L'unification du Yémen antique* (1990); Ch. Robin et al., *L'Arabie antique de Karib'il à Mahomet*, *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée* 61, 1991.

² G. Ryckmans, *Inscriptions sud-arabes: Dixième série*, *Le Muséon* 66, 1953, 267–317.

³ *Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum pars quarta inscriptiones himyariticas et sabaeas continens III* (1924).

⁴ RÉS V–VII (1928–1950).

⁵ Alsekaf op.cit. 36–40; Müller op.cit.; Bäfaqih op.cit. 271–288; Robin op.cit. 73.

relation to the kings⁶. The truth is, however, that there has never been a thorough investigation of the matter. The observations here are based on a study of the occurrences of the word ›arab‹ and its derivations in all pre-Islamic sources, not only the South Arabian ones⁷. The method has been to read the word as X wherever it occurs, i.e. not taking for granted that the meaning is known. From a study of contexts and by an analysis of the sources an attempt has been made to draw some conclusions about what this word originally stands for in pre-Islamic sources.

The South Arabian material is important since it consists of original documents, i.e. texts not transmitted by literary sources. This makes them similar to some papyri from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt and the Aramaic texts from Hatra in Mesopotamia where we also find Arabs mentioned. This even holds, to a somewhat lesser degree, for the Assyrian inscriptions. It should, however, be kept in mind that these documents, at least as far as we know, are not written by ›Arabs‹. Both the literary sources and the documents, including the South Arabian texts, are written by non-Arabs. Unlike most of the literary sources, they can be considered official documents and can be expected to reflect current political and legal terminology rather than philosophical, theological and more or less scholarly ideas and speculations. These latter are often prominent in the literary sources like the Greek literature (and also the later Arabo-Islamic sources) which have to be sifted very critically.

The first main observation from the South Arabian texts is that the South Arabian kings, mostly Sabaeans, had two relations to ›Arabs‹. Karib'il Watar conquered them as enemies. This is also reported by Karib'il Watar Yuhan'im from the 1st century A.D. who attacked ›the land of the 'RB‹ (Ja 560). The same is told about a Qatabanian general from perhaps the same time⁸. In the time of 'Alhān Nahfān (ca. 190 A.D.) Saba was attacked by Ḥimyar, Ḥaḍramawt and "RB"⁹.

We thus have a series of texts describing the ›Arabs‹ as enemies to the South Arabian kings. But there are also numerous texts where we hear about them as being allies of different kings. The "RB were obviously allies of the armies who attacked 'Alhān Nahfān. From the time of Sha'rum 'Awtar (ca. 220 A.D.) we hear about one general, named 'BKRb 'HRS who was ordered to take command

of people from Najrān and ›Arabs‹ ("RB) to fight in the war with the Ethiopians (Ja 635)¹⁰. As a matter of fact, most of the mentions of ›Arabs‹ in South Arabian texts present them as allies or mercenaries to the South Arabian kingdoms.

The second observation is that these two kinds of relations between Arabs and the kingdoms seem to be directly reflected by the grammar of the languages. The enemies are, as a rule, called 'RB, 'arab, the allies are called "RB, 'a'rāb. The former are, in a couple of passages, located in their own region called ›the land(s) of the Arabs‹ ('RD[T] 'RBN). The latter mostly occurs as the first part of a genitive construction like ›the 'a'rāb of Marib‹ (CIH 353), ›the 'a'rāb of the king‹ (Nami 72+73+71, Ja 665, Ir 32)¹¹, even ›the 'a'rāb of Kinda‹ ("RB KDT, Sharafaddin 32)¹². This polarisation is almost completely consistent in the South Arabian texts with only a few exceptions (Ir 32, Ja 671, CIH 397, Ry 510).

In consequence, the Arabs in the ›long‹ royal title of the Ḥimyarite kings from 'Abūkarib 'As'ad to Ma'dikarib Ya'fur appear as 'a'rāb: MLK SB' W'DRYDN W'ḤDRMWT WYMNT W'"RBHMW ṬWDM WTHMTM, ›...and their 'a'rāb of (or rather ›in‹) the highland and the lowland‹. The suffix -HMW, ›their, seems to refer to all the areas mentioned before, thus the 'a'rāb of Saba, Dhū Raydān etc. i.e. the 'a'rāb who belonged to them or were their allies. This also holds for the expression "RB KDT (Ry 508) which should be translated ›the 'a'rāb of Kinda‹, the meaning being that Kinda consisted of Kindites plus the 'a'rāb. These 'a'rāb of the last Ḥimyarite kings from the beginning of the 4th century A.D. even stood under a special royal commander, the KBR "RBN (Ja 665, Ir 32).

⁶ Halévy op. cit.

⁷ A full survey of the use of the terms 'RB and "RB in South Arabian texts as well as in other pre-Islamic sources is found in J. Retsö, *The Arabs in Antiquity. Their History from the Assyrians to the Umayyads* (2003).

⁸ Doe 2 in A. F. L. Beeston, *Miscellaneous Epigraphic Notes*, Raydān 4, 1984, 9–2.

⁹ Nami 72 + 72 + 71 in H. v. Wissman, *Ḥimyar. Ancient History*, Le Muséon 77, 1964, 429–497.

¹⁰ A. Jamme, *Sabaeen Inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqis (Mārib)*, PAFSM 3 (1962).

¹¹ M. A. Iryāni, *Nuqūṣ musnadiyya wa-ta'līqāt* (1990).

¹² A. F. L. Beeston, *Warfare in Ancient South Arabia (2nd–3rd centuries A.D.)*, Qahtan. *Studies in Old South Arabian Epigraphy* Fas. 3 (1976).

This seems to reflect a distinction between the 'RB outside the kingdoms and the 'RB subject to the kingdoms. The latter obviously belonged to the rulers of the South Arabian kingdoms, and also to some tribes like Kinda, and were obliged to take part in the military expeditions launched by the kings. According to some texts, e.g. Ja 561bis, they lived along the north eastern borders of former North Yemen, i.e. the border regions of Ḥāshid.

The picture of the 'RB in the South Arabian texts strongly reminds us of that of the 'a'rāb in the Qur'ān. They are mentioned in suras 9: 90, 97–101, 120; 33: 20; 48: 11–16 and 49: 14–15. These passages are ascribed to the late Medinean period. The picture emerging from these Qur'ānic passages is that the 'a'rāb were supposed or obliged to take part in the military expeditions organized by the Muslim community in Medina. They are blamed for not having done so, i.e. not having fulfilled their duties, and strongly criticized for this behaviour. Because of these verses, 'a'rāb in later Arabic literature became a negative designation for members of the Islamic community who do not fulfill their duties as supporters or auxiliaries to the Muslim army. It became a synonym for defectors.

The Arab lexicographers state that the 'a'rāb belong to those who live in the areas outside the walled cities, the *bādiya*¹³. The parallels between the 'a'rāb of the Qur'ān and the 'RB of the South Arabian inscriptions is indeed striking. In the latter, there is no indication that 'RB is a general designation for 'nomads' or bedouin or the like. The same holds for the Qur'ānic 'a'rāb, against the common view that by 'a'rāb is always meant bedouin, i.e. wild warriors riding on camels. The *bādiya* is not necessarily a designation for what we would call 'desert'. Instead it stands for areas outside walled cities where one could find both farmers, living in unfortified villages, and shepherds of different kinds¹⁴. Among these, one could also find the 'a'rāb. They were not nomads or bedouin in the modern sense of the word. Instead they appear as people living outside the city of Medina but standing in some kind of dependence on the city which made it incumbent upon them to support the Medineans in their military operations. An unprejudiced reading of the Qur'ānic verse makes it likely that the 'a'rāb had the same function in Medina as they had in South Arabia,

probably living in the border areas as some kind of border guards.

This is, in fact, the picture found also in the Middle East in general, e.g. in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt where it is completely clear from contemporary documents (papyri) that Arabs were employed as border guards and police forces. Also in Egypt they stood under the command of a special official, the *arabārkhēs*, an office which we also find in the Nabataean kingdom and on the shores of the Euphrates around Dura Europos in the Roman period.

In the South Arabian texts there are indications of a geographical location of the 'RB. In RÉS 3945 it is clear that they dwelt somewhere between al-Jawf and Najrān. The 'RB of the Sabaeen kings were located along the border of ḤṢD, i.e. south from 'Amīr down to Marib. The land of the Arabs, 'arḍ al-'arab, is in early Islamic literature located to a region close to Najrān¹⁵.

There is no doubt that the word 'RB is derived from 'RB. According to the grammar of Sabaeen, 'RB should be the plural of 'RBY, i.e. the nisba-adjective like 'HMR from ḤMYRY and 'HBS from ḤBSY¹⁶. This leads to the conclusion that the Qur'ānic 'a'rāb might be a South Arabian loanword into the Qur'ānic language and that the 'a'rāb in Medina, in fact, were an institution of mercenaries or border guards of the same kind as the 'RB of the South Arabian kings.

When the Yemenis sent a delegation to the Prophet in the year 630 it is said that the land of Yemen consisted of four classes of people: 'aḥmār, *khalā'it*, *mawālī* and 'a'rāb¹⁷ which sounds like a genuine description of conditions in Ḥimyar. It is difficult to see the 'RB etc. in the South Arabian texts as a general designation for people living in the rest of the Arabian peninsula or bedouin, nomads etc. Instead we see two groups, the 'RB

¹³ Lisān al-'arab li-'Abī Faḍl Ḡamīl ad-Dīn b. Makrām b. Maḥzūr al-'Ifrīqī al-Miṣrī (no year) s.v. 'RB.

¹⁴ Ibidem s.v. BDW.

¹⁵ F. Wüstenfeld (ed.), Das Leben Muhammed's nach Muhammed Ibn Iṣhāk bearbeitet von Abd el-Malik Ibn Hišam I 1 (1858). II 2 (1859). II (1860). Reprint (1961) 20–22.

¹⁶ A. F. L. Beeston, Sabaic Grammar (1984) 26.

¹⁷ E. Mittwoch (ed.), Ibn Saad. Biographien Muhammeds, seiner Gefährten und der späteren Träger des Islams bis zum Jahre 230 der Flucht I (1905) 73.

living in a region close to Najrān and al-Jawf, and the 'RB being people engaged by the South Arabian kings and also by some large tribes like Kinda as mercenaries and border guards. The connection between these two groups is admittedly not altogether clear. One might suggest that the 'RB were people who originally belonged to the collective 'RB group but had been hired by rulers of different kinds as soldiers and guards as hinted at already by Halévy in 1899.

This picture of Arabs emerging from an unprejudiced reading of the South Arabian texts is remarkably consistent with the picture of the Arabs emerging from a similar reading of the other pre-

Islamic sources from the north and also with the testimony of the Qur'ān. From the complete evidence it seems clear that 'arabs' in antiquity is a designation of limited groups of people, located in some special areas in Arabia and adjacent regions, and not a general designation of people living in Arabia, let alone nomads or bedouin.

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العرب في جنوب بلاد العرب قبل الإسلام

يان ريتسو

(Jan Retsö)

ملخص:

وردت كلمة "عرب" حوالي أربعين مرة في نقوش ما قبل الإسلام في جنوب بلاد العرب. وكلها ، باستثناء واحد ، من الفترة ما بين القرن الأول والسادس الميلادي. وردت الكلمة في صورتين: "عرب" و "أعراب". ويبدو أن الأولى تصف مجموعة أو مجموعات بالمنطقة المحيطة بواحات نجران ؛ والأخيرة تطلق على أناس عاشوا بمحاذاة الحدود الشمالية الشرقية للقبائل الكبيرة بالمرتفعات وكذلك بمحاذاة حدود الممالك العظيمة جهة الصحارى الموجودة في الشمال الشرقي. وعلاوة على ذلك يبدو أن الأعراب كانت لهم علاقة خاصة بالملوك وروساء القبائل في اليمن بالمعنى الضيق للكلمة ، إذ كانوا يخدمون في حراسة الحدود أو كقوات مساعدة. وليست هناك أدلة على أن إحدى هاتين الكلمتين وصف عام للبداو الرحل أو البداو العرب.

إن مكانة الأعراب المذكورين في نقوش جنوب بلاد العرب تذكرنا بوضوح بتلك التي للأعراب المشار إليهم في القرآن في بعض السور المدنية الأخيرة. ولقد كان أعراب يثرب خاضعين لحكام واحة يثرب (المدينة) وكانت تقع على عاتقهم مهام عسكرية مشابهة لتلك المهام التي كانت تقع على عاتق الأعراب في جنوب بلاد العرب. وبما أن الكلمة حتى في اللغة العربية مستعارة على الأرجح من إحدى لغات جنوب بلاد العرب ؛ فمن المعقول أن نسلّم بأن الأعراب المذكورين في القرآن جماعة أصلها من جنوب بلاد العرب.

ḤIMYAR AU IV^e SIÈCLE DE L'ÈRE CHRÉTIENNE

Analyse des données chronologiques et essai de mise en ordre

La chronologie sudarabique du iv^e s. è. chr. a été esquissée par A. Jamme et par H. von Wissmann dans les années 1960. En 1994, K. A. Kitchen en a proposé une version amendée¹, qui prenait en compte les documents publiés entre-temps. Je voudrais montrer ici que cette dernière étude peut être améliorée sur plusieurs points, en utilisant notamment les données chronologiques fournies par les guerres qui opposent Ḥimyar au Ḥaḍramawt ou par celles qu'évoque l'inscription de 'Abadān.

I. LES DONNÉES DISPONIBLES

Pour construire la chronologie du iv^e s., les données dont on dispose peuvent être classées en cinq catégories. Il s'agit tout d'abord des diverses titulatures des rois de Ḥimyar. Les souverains sont appelés »roi de Saba' et de dhu-Raydān«² (titulature courte), des origines (au début du i^{er} s. è. chr.) jusqu'au règne de Shammar Yuhar'ish; puis »roi de Saba', dhu-Raydān, Ḥaḍramawt et Yamnat«³ (titulature longue), après la conquête du Ḥaḍramawt occidental; enfin »roi de Saba', dhu-Raydān, Ḥaḍramawt, Yamnat et de leurs (tribus) nomades dans le Ṭawd^{um} et la Tihāmat«⁴ (titulature très longue) à partir du moment où – à la fin du règne d'Abīkarīb As'ad (vers 440–450) – Ḥimyar étend son influence en Arabie centrale et occidentale.

L'évolution de la titulature permet donc de classer les souverains en trois groupes successifs. Mais il n'est peut-être pas inutile de se demander si la titulature représente un critère chronologique incontestable. Certes, la date d'apparition des formules les plus longues fournit un terminus post quem assuré. En sens inverse, il n'est jamais exclu qu'un souverain soit mentionné avec un titre plus court

que celui en usage officiellement. L'inscription de Maṣna'at Māriya en donne un bon exemple.

Dans ce texte qui commémore des travaux d'aménagement réalisés par des particuliers ou une tribu dont le nom a disparu, le roi Tha'rān Yuhān'im n'est pas invoqué avec la titulature longue, que portent tous les souverains qui le précèdent ou le suivent, mais au moyen de l'énoncé bref: »avec le soutien de leur seigneur Tha'rān Yuhān'im roi de Saba' et de dhu-Raydān, fils de Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr roi de Saba' et de dhu-Raydān«⁵.

L'inscription mentionne la date de 434, dans un comput qui est sans aucun doute l'ère ḥimyarite⁶, pour les travaux qu'elle commémore (ll. 11–12), soit 324–325 è. chr.: il est donc certain que le Tha'rān mentionné a régné au iv^e s. è. chr. et doit

Pour les sigles désignant des inscriptions sudarabiques, se référer à K. A. Kitchen, *Bibliographical Catalogue of Texts, Documentation for Ancient Arabia II, The World of Ancient Arabia Series* (2000).

¹ K. A. Kitchen, *Chronological Framework and Historical Sources, Documentation for Ancient Arabia I, The World of Ancient Arabia Series* (1994) 217–219, à compléter avec *idem*, *Bibliographical Catalogue of Texts* (2000) 729 sq.

² *mlk S'b' w-d-Ryd^a*.

³ *mlk S'b' w-d-Ryd^a w-Ḥḍrmwt w-Ymnt*.

⁴ *mlk S'b' w-d-Ryd^a w-Ḥḍrmwt w-Ymnt w-'rb-bmw Ṭwd^u w-Thmt*. La première inscription qui emploie cette titulature très longue présente une petite variante: »... et les (tribus) nomades du Ṭawd et de la Tihāmat«, ... *w-'rb Ṭwd w-Thmt*.

⁵ Ll. 13–14, *w-b-mqm mr'-bmw Ṭ'r Yhn'im mlk S'b' w-d-Ryd^a bn Dmr'ly Yhbr mlk S'b' w-d-Ryd^a*.

⁶ Voir Ch. Robin, *Décompte du temps et souveraineté politique en Arabie méridionale*, dans: F. Briquel-Chatonnet–H. Lozacheur (ed.), *Proche-Orient ancien: temps vécu, temps pensé, Actes de la Table-Ronde du 15 novembre 1997 organisée par l'URA 1062 «Études sémitiques», Antiquités sémitiques 3* (1998) 121–151 notamment le tableau p. 151.

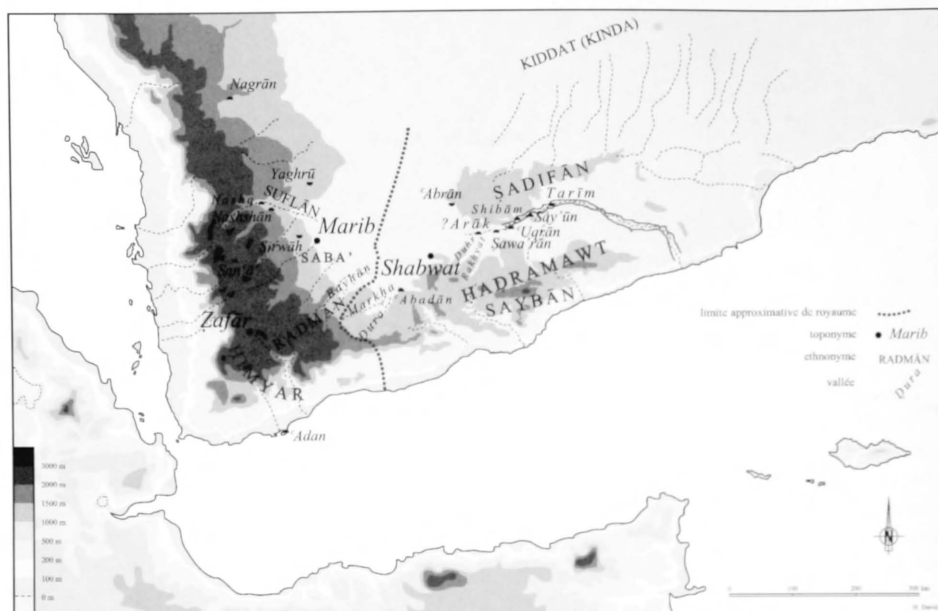


Fig. 1 L'Arabie méridionale vers 280 è. Chr., avant la conquête du Ḥaḍramawt

être distingué de son homonyme du II^e s. è. chr. Cette date de Tha'rān s'accorde bien avec celles qui peuvent être déduites de la chronologie des guerres dans 'Abadān 1 (voir ci-dessous).

Pourquoi les auteurs de l'inscription préférèrent-ils donner au souverain la titulature courte, alors que la longue est d'un emploi systématique? Une première explication pourrait être que Tha'rān Yuhan'im exerce une sorte de vice-royauté sur Ḥimyar au sens étroit (la région de Zafār), alors que son père règne sur l'ensemble de l'empire⁷. Elle doit être écartée d'emblée: dans l'invocation, le père de Tha'rān est également pourvu de la titulature courte.

Une deuxième interprétation pourrait être que la titulature de Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr (et celle de son fils Tha'rān, associé au trône comme vice-roi) est courte parce que ce roi n'a pas encore été intronisé par l'ensemble des composantes de l'empire. Mais d'autres inscriptions (Ir 31 et 32) prouvent que Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr porte la titulature longue avant même que Tha'rān Yuhan'im soit associé au trône.

L'explication la plus vraisemblable est que les auteurs du texte, des Ḥimyarites de souche, don-

nent à leur souverain le titre traditionnel, qui a cessé d'être utilisé officiellement, par habitude: on observe d'ailleurs que seules les inscriptions royales respectent scrupuleusement la phraséologie officielle, tandis que les textes rédigés par les particuliers prennent souvent quelque liberté avec les formules stéréotypées. De plus, une titulature brève raccourcissait le texte et diminuait d'autant le coût de sa gravure.

Il convient d'ailleurs de remarquer que, vers la même époque (sous la corégence de Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr et de son fils Tha'rān Yuhan'im), la

⁷ Une situation de ce type paraît attestée sous le règne de Karib'il Bayān, roi de Saba' et de dhu-Raydān, fils de Dhamar'alī Dhārīh, avec le roi Nasha'karib Yuha'min, roi de Saba', fils de Dhamar'alī Dhārīh (noter le titre «roi de Saba'» et le patronyme): à ce propos, se reporter à Ch. Robin, «L'inscription Ir 40 de Bayt Ḍab'ān et la tribu Ḍmry», dans: Ch. Robin – M. Bāfāqīh (ed.), *Ṣayhadica. Recherches sur les inscriptions de l'Arabie préislamique offertes par ses collègues au Professeur A. F. L. Beeston, L'Arabie préislamique 1* (1987) 146 sq.

monarchie himyarite est désignée par l'expression «les rois de Saba' et de dhu-Raydān» (Schmidt-Ma'rib 28/10–11). Ce titre exprime bien l'essence du pouvoir royal à cette époque.

Une deuxième catégorie de données utiles pour construire la chronologie est constituée par les inscriptions datées. Pour la période retenue, les plus significatives sont:

pour construire la chronologie. Ils permettent d'esquisser deux fragments de généalogies. La première séquence se limite à deux générations (Yāsir^{um} – Shammar):

Règne de Yāsir^{um} Yuhan'im TC,
Corégence de Yāsir^{um} Yuhan'im et de son fils
Shammar Yuhar'ish TC,
Règne de Shammar Yuhar'ish TC,
Règne de Shammar Yuhar'ish TL.

Texte	Date	Règne
Mi'sāl 5	198 radm.	Yāsir ^{um} Yuhan'im TC
CIH 46 (= Gl 799)	385 him.	Yāsir ^{um} Yuhan'im + fils Shammar Yuhar'ish TC
Gl 1594	[3]89 him.	Yāsir ^{um} [...] TC
CIH 448+Hakir 1	396 him.	Yāsir ^{um} Yuhan'im + fils Shammar Yuhar'ish [TC]
RES 4196	316 maḍḥ.	Yāsir ^{um} Yuhan'im + fils Shammar Yuhar'ish TC
Av. Būsān 4	[40]7 him. ⁸	Shammar Yuhar'ish TL
YMN 13	409 [him.]	Shammar Yuhar'ish TL
YM 1695	42[0] him.	Shammar Yuhar'ish TL
VL 29 a	345 maḍḥ.	Pas de souverain
Maṣna'at Māriya	434 [him.]	Tha'rān Yuhan'im TC fils de Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr TC
MAFRAY-Ḥaṣī 5	3[6]5 maḍḥ.	Pas de souverain
'Abadān 1	470 him.	Tha'rān Yun'im, Tha'rān Ayfa', Dhamar'alī Ayfa'

him.: ère de Ḥimyar dont le début peut être situé en avril 110 av. è. chr.

maḍḥ.: ère de Maḍḥiy^{um}, dont le début est approximativement en 33±11 av. è. chr.

radm.: ère de Radmān, dont le début serait en avril 74 è. chr.

TC: titulature courte;

TL: titulature longue;

T*TL: titulature très longue.

Cette liste permet avant tout de constater qu'entre 396 et [40]7 him., Shammar Yuhar'ish passe de la titulature courte, héritée de son père, à la longue.

Les liens de parenté entre souverains constituent une troisième catégorie de données exploitables

La seconde séquence comporte cinq générations (Dhamar'alī – Tha'rān – Malkikarib – Abīkarib – Shuriḥb'il):

Règne de Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr TL,
Corégence de Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr et de son fils
Tha'rān Yuhan'im TL,
Règne de Tha'rān Yuhan'im TL (TC dans
Maṣna'at Māriya),

⁸ La restitution de la date, ll. 5-6 (J) | mḍr^m ḍ-b-ḥry^m ḍ-l-s'b't w-... | ḥd bn 'bḥḍ, est assurée. La conjonction wāw après s'b't interdit de suppléer [41]7 (s'b't 'l's'r w-'yb' m't^m); voir par exemple Garb Ant. Yem., 9. Bayt al-Ashwal d, daté de 619, ḍ-l-ts't 's'r w-s't m't^m). Par ailleurs, la date de [39]7 est exclue par la chronologie: en 396 him., Shammar règne encore avec son père, et il est difficile de supposer qu'en une année, il ait succédé à son père, régné pendant un certain temps avec la titulature courte et adopté la titulature longue.

Corégence de Tha'rān Yuhan'im et de son fils Malkikarib Yuha'min TL,
 Corégence de Malkikarib Yuha'min et de ses fils Abikarib As'ad et Dhara'amar Ayman TL,
 Coréquences d'Abikarib As'ad avec diverses séquences de fils TL, puis TTL,
 Règne de Shuriḥbi'l Ya'fur TTL.

L'évolution des coréquences est une quatrième catégorie de données. Elle offre des indications chronologiques précieuses, mais doit être maniée avec précaution. Il apparaît en effet que seules les inscriptions royales énumèrent avec précision tous les occupants du trône. Les textes rédigés par les particuliers ne citent pas nécessairement tous les souverains.

L'exemple le plus significatif est fourni par Bayt al-Ashwal 1. Dans ce texte, le juif Yahūda' invoque le roi Dhara'amar Ayman⁹. Or il semble assuré que ce souverain n'a jamais régné seul. En dehors de ce texte, il est toujours attesté en corégence avec son père Malkikarib Yuha'min et son frère Abikarib As'ad, ou comme l'un des corégentes de son frère Abikarib As'ad¹⁰. Il disparaît probablement avant son frère Abikarib As'ad, comme le montre la comparaison de Garb-Minkath 1¹¹ et de Ry 534+Maḥy-Rayda 1/2-3¹².

Enfin, pour élaborer la chronologie, il reste un dernier ensemble d'informations, les événements de toutes sortes qui peuvent être ordonnés en séquences. C'est l'approche qui a été la moins explorée et que nous allons essayer de mettre en œuvre. Mais auparavant, il convient de rappeler quels sont les règnes du IV^e siècle sur lesquels l'attention doit se porter parce que leur date est particulièrement incertaine. Ce sont :

Règne de Karib'il Watār Yuhan'im TL (Ir 28, Ja 666, Ja 667)
 Corégence de Yāsir^{um} Yuhan'im et de Tha'rān Ayfa' TL (Ja 664)
 Corégence de Yāsir^{um} Yuhan'im et de son fils Dhara'amar Ayman TL (Ir 29, Ja 665)
 Corégence de [XXX Yu]han'im et de son fils [XXX A]yfa' rois[... (Garb, Framm. Ep. Sab. 6)
 Corégence de [XXX] et son frère Tha'rān Ayfa' rois[... (Gl 1539)

Il serait également nécessaire de cerner plus précisément qui sont «le roi Tha'rān Ayfa'» et le roi «Dhāmar'alī Ayfa'» dans 'Abadān 1/24 et 26.

II. LA PREMIÈRE GUERRE ḤIMYARITO-ḤAḌRAMAWTQUE SOUS SHAMMAR YUHA'RISH: LA CONQUÊTE DU ḤAḌRAMAWT OCCIDENTAL

Deux guerres ont été nécessaires à Ḥimyar pour conquérir le Ḥaḍramawt. Pour l'une comme pour l'autre, le déroulement de l'action principale, à savoir les opérations menées par l'armée royale ḥimyarite, nous est inconnu. Nous ne sommes renseignés que sur certaines actions de diversion effectuées par des Sabéens ou par des Arabes dépendant de Saba', parce que ces alliés de Ḥimyar ont adressé à leurs divinités des actions de grâces qui nous sont parvenues.

La première guerre a lieu sous le long règne de Shammar Yuha'rish, qu'elle divise en deux séquences de durée approximativement égale.

Les documents: CIH 431+438+948, Ja 656, M. Bayḥān 5, Sharaf al-Dīn 32 et Sharaf al-Dīn 34. Tous commémorent la dédicace d'offrandes dans les temples de Marib, soit Awwām (Ja 656, M. Bayḥān 5, Sharaf al-Dīn 32 et 34) soit Baḥr Ḥaṭab^{um} (CIH 431+438+948). L'un (M. Bayḥān 5) date du début du conflit. Les autres évoquent un raid victorieux dans le wādī Ḥaḍramawt, jusqu'à Say'ūn.

M. Bayḥān 5 (Shammar Yuha'rish TC)

Shāf'athat Awwāḥ Ayhar fils de Shahr, chef de la cavalerie royale, fait une dédicace dans le temple Awwām, parce qu'Almaqah l'a exaucé «quand son seigneur Shammar Yuha'rish, roi de Saba' et de dhu-Raydān, fils de Yāsir^{um} Yuhan'im roi de Saba'

⁹ «Avec le soutien de son seigneur Dhara'amar Ayma'(n) roi de Saba', dhu-Raydān, Ḥaḍramawt et Yamnat», *w-b-mqm mr'-hw Dr'mr' ym'n mlk S'b' w-d-Ryd' w-Ḥḍramwt w-Ymnt*.

¹⁰ Ch. Robin, Le Royaume Ḥijride, dit «royaume de Kinda», entre Ḥimyar et Byzance, dans: CRAIBL 1996, 682 sq.

¹¹ G. Garbini, Una bilingue sabeco-ebraica da Zafar, AION 30, 1970, 163 sq. pl. II b: «Abikarib As'ad, son frère Dhara'amar Ayman et ses fils Ḥāṣṣān Yuha'min, Ma'dikarib Yun'im et Ḥuḡr Ayfa', rois de Saba', dhu-Raydān, Ḥaḍramawt et Yamnat».

¹² «... pour le salut de leurs seigneurs Abikarib As'ad, Ḥāṣṣān Yuḥa'min, Ma'dikarib Yuhan'im, Marḥad'ilān Yaz'an et Shuriḥbi'l Ya'fur, rois de Saba', dhu-Raydān, Ḥaḍramawt et [Yamnat]».

et de dhu-Raydān, l'a envoyé pour surveiller et prendre en embuscade les secours de Kiddat, quand ceux-ci portaient secours au Ḥaḍramawt, et qu'il les prit en embuscade à Arāk¹³.

La cavalerie ḥimyarite tend donc une embuscade à la tribu arabe de Kiddat (en arabe Kinda) à Arāk, un endroit qui est à nouveau le théâtre d'un accrochage entre Ḥimyarites et Ḥaḍramawtiques, quelques décennies plus tard (Ja 665/22). Arāk se trouve certainement dans le désert qui s'étend entre Marib et le Ḥaḍramawt. Une première localisation pourrait être le petit massif de Ruwayk, à 120 km à l'ouest-nord-ouest de Shabwa, à 125 à l'ouest d'al-'Abr et à 100 km au nord-est de Marib¹⁴, si on suppose que Ruwayk est une déformation de *ṛk*¹⁵. Une autre possibilité serait de reconnaître dans Arāk le nom ancien de Bi'r Ḥamad (à 100 km à l'est-nord-est de Shabwa et à 80 km au sud-est d'al-'Abr), comme le suggère le déroulement des opérations dans Ja 665.

M. Bayḥān 5 est le premier document du règne de Shammar Yuhar'ish à faire état d'un conflit entre Ḥimyar et le Ḥaḍramawt, alors que ce souverain porte encore la titulature courte. Le soutien que la tribu de Kiddat apporte au Ḥaḍramawt est inattendu: précédemment, cette tribu était sous la tutelle de Saba' et, par la suite, elle fournit régulièrement des auxiliaires nomades au roi de Ḥimyar (voir Ir 32, Ja 665, Sharaf al-Dīn 32 ci-dessous).

Sharaf al-Dīn 32 (Shammar Yuhar'ish TC)

Deux gouverneurs (*wz'*) de la tribu de Saba', Ya'mar Ashwa' et son frère Zaydaqawm^{um} Aryam banū dhu-Khālān Anmār^{um}, commémorent la dédicace d'une statue de bronze à Almaqah Thahwān maître d'Awḡwām. Parmi les motifs de reconnaissance, les auteurs rappellent le succès d'une expédition dans le Ḥaḍramawt oriental, exécutée à la demande de Shammar Yuhar'ish, roi de Saba' et de dhu-Raydān.

Le corps expéditionnaire, qui réunit la tribu de Saba' (*s'²b²n s'¹b'²*), une partie de l'armée royale (*d-bn ḥms¹²n*) et les auxiliaires bédouins (*'r²b²n*; ll. 10–11), compte 800 chameliers sabéens, 600 chameliers fournis par diverses tribus (Ḥumlān, Khawlān, les Nashqites, les Arabes et Kiddat) et 60 cavaliers (ll. 11–14)¹⁶. Il fait de l'eau à 'Abrān (aujourd'hui al-'Abr), à 90 km au nord de Shabwa, puis lance un

raid contre les villes et les vallées de 'Uqrān¹⁷, Shibām, Raṭṭhat^{um} et Say'ūn, qui sont dévastées.

Ja 656 (Shammar Yuhar'ish TL)

Zaydaqawm^{um} Yadra' et ses descendants, deux fils (Rabī'at [.].ḥar et Kinānat Yabdur) et cinq petits-fils (Taymallāt As'ad, Wafī^{um} Azraf, Wahballāt, Yaḥmad et Abikarib) sont des banū 'Athkalān (plus précisément des banū 'Athkalān 'Aṣyat et dhu-Rasam^{um}), l'un des plus prestigieux lignages sabéens, compté au nombre des Mathāmina (Robin 1989). Ils font une dédicace dans le temple Awḡwām, notamment parce qu'ils sont revenus sains et saufs et comblés de deux campagnes guerrières.

Pendant la première, ils ont servi sous les ordres de Shammar Yuhar'ish, roi de Saba', dhu-Raydān, Ḥaḍramawt et Yamnat (noter la titulature longue), lors des hostilités que Sharaḥ'īl et Rabbīshams^{um}, rois du Ḥaḍramawt, avaient provoquées. La seconde campagne les amène, avec leur tribu Saba' Kahlān, dans le Sarīrān (nom ancien du wādī Ḥaḍramawt à partir de Ṣūrān).

Cette seconde campagne est sans doute identique à celle évoquée dans Sharaf al-Dīn 32, puisqu'on retrouve la même tribu (Saba') et les mêmes résultats. Shammar Yuhar'ish a encore la titulature courte dans Sharaf al-Dīn 32, mais déjà la titulature

¹³ *brṭn-blt-hw mr²-hw ... l-rṣd w-tṭbn zbd Kdt brṭn zbdw Ḥḍrmt w-twṣb-bmḡw b-'r²k*, ll. 4–8.

¹⁴ La localisation d'Arāk, nom d'un village et d'un affluent du wādī Dhana à 20 km au sud-ouest de Marib – carte du Yémen-Nord au 1/500 000^e dans: A. de Maigret (ed.), *The Sabaeen Archaeological Complex in the Wādī Yalā (Eastern Ḥawlān at-Ṭīyāl, Yemen Arab Republic): A Preliminary Report* (1988) fig. 30 –, ne répond pas aux données topographiques des deux attestations; il en est de même du wādī Rāk au pied du jabal al-Lawdh (carte au 100 000^e, 1645C).

¹⁵ C'est l'hypothèse retenue par la carte Ch. Robin – U. Brunner, *Map of Ancient Yemen – Carte du Yémen antique*, 1: 1 000 000 (1997) I 5.

¹⁶ Lire: *b-ḡmn m¹²n²m s'¹d²m r²k¹²m bn s'²b²n s'¹b'² w-b-s'¹m m¹³n²m s'¹d²m r²k¹²m bn Ḥm¹²l w-Ḥw¹²m w-¹⁴²q²q w-(¹)rb²n w-Kdt*.

¹⁷ Corriger ainsi le 'br² d'A. F. L. Beeston, *Warfare in Ancient South Arabia* (2nd–3rd centuries A.D.), *Qahtan. Studies in Old South Arabian Epigraphy* 3 (1976). Dans la transcription de Sharaf al-Dīn, on lit 'fr² qui est une erreur d'imprimerie pour 'qr² (en arabe, le *fā* et le *qāf* ne se distinguent que par le nombre de points diacritiques placés au-dessus de la lettre).

longue dans Ja 656: la seconde dédicace a donc été rédigée un peu plus tard que la première. Le changement de titulature, qui traduit dans les institutions l'expansion territoriale ḥimyarite aux dépens du Ḥaḍramawt, intervient entre les deux dédicaces, sans aucun doute très peu de temps après le retour des combattants.

La participation des dédicants à la guerre qui oppose Shammar d'une part, Sharah'il et Rab-bīshams^{um} d'autre part, semble précéder la campagne dans Sarīrān, sans qu'on puisse déterminer de combien de temps.

CIH 431+438+948 (Shammar Yuhar'ish TL)

Le recollement de CIH 948 avec CIH 431+438, qui n'a pas encore été proposé, est possible sans être totalement sûr. Apparemment, CIH 948 est un fragment qui se lit avant CIH 431+438, sans qu'il y ait raccord. Les dimensions (qui manquent pour CIH 948) ne permettent pas de vérifier le bien-fondé de cette proposition. Le nombre de symboles par ligne est de 28 à 30 pour CIH 948/4 (si on suppose que le fragment est complet à gauche), et de 25 à 27 pour CIH 431+438/9: il y a donc une petite différence, qui n'interdit pas le recollement, mais incite à la prudence. Cependant, la graphie des deux textes est identique et les contenus se correspondent: mention du lignage *j'n w-Mqr^m* dans CIH 948/7 et [...]*j w-Mqr^m* dans CIH 431+438/4; même roi Shammar Yuhar'ish avec la titulature longue; évocation d'un conflit avec le Ḥaḍramawt.

Dans le fragment CIH 948, on relève le nom de Sharah'il roi du Ḥaḍ[ramawt] (l. 2) et celui de Shammar Yuhar'ish roi de Saba', dhu-Raydān, Ḥaḍramawt et] Yamnat (ll. 3-4). Du fait de l'absence de contexte, on ne saurait dire avec certitude si le *Hgr^m* de la l. 5 est bien le wādī Ḥigrān (aujourd'hui al-Ḥijr), dans la région de Niṣāb¹⁸. Si c'était bien le cas, la mention d'opérations ḥimyarites dans cette région pourrait être en relation avec le ralliement des Yaz'anides à Ḥimyar (voir ci-dessous, le commentaire de 'Abadān l.).

L'auteur de la dédicace appartient au lignage de [...]*ān* et Muqār^{um} (*j'n w-Mqr^m*, l. 7), probablement très noble si on observe que Muqār^{um} est l'un des Mathāmīna¹⁹. De son nom personnel, il ne subsiste que la première lettre, S² (l. 6).

Les deux fragments CIH 431+438 évoquent la tribu de Saba', que commandent probablement les dédicants (l. 1), puis ils énumèrent une suite de cités du wādī Ḥaḍramawt: 'Uqrān, Shibām et Sa[y'ūn]. À nouveau, il s'agit très certainement de la campagne décrite par Sharaf al-Dīn 32: même liste de villes (dans Sharaf al-Dīn 32: 'Uqrān, Shibām, Raṭghat^{um} et Say'ūn, avec ajout d'un nom), même participants (Saba'), même règne. La fin du texte énumère les souhaits habituels.

Sharaf al-Dīn 34

Ilighazz Yashū' b. Sha'rān offre deux statuettes à Almaqah parce que le dieu s'est montré favorable » quand il a fait une expédition à la ville de Shibām au Ḥaḍramawt, et parce qu'il lui a accordé de revenir avec des (ennemis) tués, des captifs et du butin²⁰. Le roi Shammar Yuhar'ish, dont le dédicant souhaite la bienveillance, porte déjà la titulature longue.

L'expédition de Shibām, à laquelle il est fait allusion, est probablement un épisode du raid dans Sarīrān, relaté par les inscriptions précédentes.

Le déroulement du conflit et ses conséquences

Après la défaite et la capture de son roi Ilī'azz Yalūṭ, dans les années 220, le Ḥaḍramawt a sans doute perdu ses territoires les plus occidentaux, Radmān et le wādī Bayḥān. Mais il semble avoir conservé Markha, Ḍura' et 'Abadān, ses possessions au sud du désert de Ramlat al-Sab'atayn.

Le déroulement de la nouvelle guerre peut être reconstruit en partie. Comme il a déjà été dit, seuls les épisodes impliquant des Sabéens ou des Arabes dans la dépendance de Saba' sont connus: les auteurs de CIH 431+438+948 et de Ja 656 appartiennent à deux grands lignages sabéens de Marib, les Muqār^{um} et les 'Athkalān; ceux de Sharaf al-Dīn 32 sont des gouverneurs de Saba'.

¹⁸ Robin - Brunner carte cit. I 8.

¹⁹ Robin 1989.

²⁰ Voici comment le texte, en partie corrompu, est donné par Aḥmad Sharaf al-Dīn: *w-l-qt ḥmr 'bd-bw 'lḡx-Ys' b-kn s'b' dy hgr' S'bm 'rd Ḥdrmt w-l-qt ḥmr-bw 'rw b-mbrg^m w-s'by^m w-ḡnm^m*.

Manifestement, ces Sabéens ne sont guère engagés par Shammar Yuhar'ish dans les opérations menées contre les deux rois du Ḥaḍramawt, Sharaḥ'il et Rabbīshams^{um} (Ja 656), ou contre Sharaḥ'il seul (CIH 948). Mais ils sont chargés d'une importante opération de diversion dans le wādī Ḥaḍramawt, dont ils pillent les villes de 'Uqrān à Say'ūn.

Très peu de temps après ce raid, Shammar Yuhar'ish adopte la titulature longue, qui ajoute »Ḥaḍramawt et Yamnat« à »roi de Saba' et de dhu-Raydān« : dans une dédicace offerte au retour de ce raid (Sharaf al-Dīn 32), il porte encore la titulature courte, mais dans trois autres un peu plus tardives (CIH 431+438+948, Ja 656 et Sharaf al-Dīn 34), l'allongement de la titulature a déjà été opéré.

On peut s'interroger sur l'ampleur de la redistribution territoriale que le changement de titulature implique. Il semble certain que Ḥimyar a conquis et annexé Shabwat, la capitale du Ḥaḍramawt : alors que Shammar porte déjà la titulature longue, des Sabéens sont envoyés en garnison à Shabwat (Ja 662) ou participent au grand pèlerinage de Sayīn (Ir Suppl. B 3). Il est vraisemblable que tous les territoires ḥaḍramawtiques sur le pourtour de Ramlat al-Sab'atayn (Markha, Ḍura', 'Abadān et Jurdān) deviennent également ḥimyarites ; à ce propos, il est possible que le terme »Yamnat« ajouté à la titulature désigne les possessions ḥaḍramawtiques les plus méridionales²¹, notamment Markha, Ḍura' et 'Abadān. En revanche, rien n'indique que le wādī Ḥaḍramawt lui-même (Sarīrān) soit passé sous le contrôle ḥimyarite : les relations du raid sabéen évoquent le pillage de cette région, mais non la prise de ses villes ; par ailleurs, le wādī est le cœur de la résistance ḥaḍramawtique une trentaine d'années plus tard.

L'emblème qui symbolise le nouvel État est probablement créé au moment du changement de titulature. Il se compose de trois figures : ce sont, en allant de gauche à droite, le monogramme de Shāqir (palais royal ḥaḍramawtique à Shabwat), l'emblème de Ḥimyar (apparemment le monogramme stylisé du dieu Wāḡl) et un monogramme inconnu (composé des lettres *b*, *f*, *h* et *ḍ*)²². Il est vrai que cet emblème n'est pas attesté sous le règne de Shammar Yuhar'ish, mais seulement sous ceux, un peu plus tardifs, de Yāsir^{um} Yu[han'im II], puis de [Dhamar'alī] Yuhabi[r] en corégence avec son fils Tha[j]rān Yu[han'im]²³.

La date de la conquête du Ḥaḍramawt occidental peut être fixée approximativement. Elle précède de peu le changement de titulature, qui intervient entre dhu-qayzān 396 (juillet 286) et dhu-madhra'ān [40]7 ḥim. (juillet 297). En 396 ḥim., Shammar Yuhar'ish est encore le corégent de son père Yāsir^{um} Yuhan'im. En dhu-madhra'ān [40]7 ḥim., il porte déjà la titulature longue. Entre ces deux dates, il faut placer la fin de la corégence Yāsir^{um} – Shammar, le règne de Shammar seul avec la titulature courte, la guerre avec le Ḥaḍramawt et le début du règne de Shammar avec la titulature longue. La titulature courte semble avoir été en usage pendant une période assez longue, qui ne devrait pas être inférieure à la moitié de la durée totale du règne de Shammar puisque, sur 31 documents utilisables, 18 donnent à Shammar la titulature courte et 13 seulement la titulature longue²⁴. On sait que le règne solitaire de Shammar commence après 396 ḥim. et qu'il n'est pas achevé en 42[0] ḥim. Le changement de titulature interviendrait donc un peu après le milieu de la période 396–42[0] ḥim., mais de toute façon avant dhu-madhra'ān [40]7 ḥim. (première attestation de la titulature longue) : il faut donc le situer juste avant dhu-madhra'ān 407 ḥim. Dès lors, la conquête du Ḥaḍramawt occidental, qui est immédiatement antérieure au changement de titulature, peut être datée de 406 ḥim., soit 296/297 è. chr. environ.

²¹ L'un des sens possibles de »Yamnat« est »sud«.

²² Ce monogramme, qui symbolise probablement Yamnat, est peut-être formé, lui aussi, avec les lettres d'un nom de palais (encore inconnu).

²³ Dans le premier document, il ne subsiste que le monogramme de droite, et dans le second, la figure du centre : Robin, *Ṣayhādica* op. cit. (v. n. 7) 122–124.

²⁴ Bien évidemment, ce décompte ne donne qu'un ordre de grandeur des durées. Inscriptions dans lesquelles Shammar Yuhar'ish apparaît avec la titulature courte : CIH 407 ; CIH 628=RES 2676 (où le nom du roi est restitué), Ir 15, Ir 16, Ir 17, Ja 649, Ja 650, Ja 651 ; Ja 652 ; Ja 653 ; Ja 654 ; Ja 655 ; Kit-chen PSAS 1995 ; M. Bayhān 5 ; RES 3910 ; RES 4230 ; Sharaf al-Dīn 32 ; Sharaf al-Dīn 35. – Avec la titulature longue : CIH 431+438+948 ; Ir 30 ; Ir Suppl. B 3 ; Ja 656 ; Ja 657 ; Ja 658 ; Ja 660 ; Ja 661 ; Ja 662 ; Sharaf al-Dīn 31 ; Sharaf al-Dīn 34 ; YM 1695 ; YMN 13.

Dans Robin-Radā'i, l'absence d'épithète et de date ne permet pas d'établir si ce texte remonte au règne de Shammar Yuhahmid ou à celui de Shammar Yuhar'ish.

Faisant suite à l'annexion de Saba' dans les années 270 è. chr., la conquête du Ḥaḍramawt trahit certainement une volonté hégémonique de Ḥimyar en Arabie méridionale. Elle n'a pu qu'inquiéter les puissances voisines, notamment la Perse sassanide qui domine la rive arabique du Golfe Arabo-persique. La constitution de la principauté vassale d'al-Ḥīra, sur la rive occidentale du Moyen-Euphrate, date précisément de cette époque. Quant au raid d'Imru' al-Qays contre Naḡrān, rapporté par l'inscription d'al-Namāra²⁵, ne serait-il pas une tentative sassanide de soutenir le Ḥaḍramawt en ouvrant un deuxième front²⁶? Dans cette hypothèse, ce raid pourrait être daté des années qui précèdent 296 è. chr. La période se prêtait bien à des initiatives ḥimyarites. Le roi Baḥrām II était mort en 293 et son successeur, Narseh (293-302) était paralysé par une guerre civile dynastique. L'importance des relations avec la Perse est confirmée par l'envoi d'une ambassade ḥimyarite dans la capitale sassanide après le changement de titulature de Shammar, si l'on en croit Sharaf al-Dīn 31.

Les traditions yéménites et arabes considèrent Shammar Yuḥar'ish comme l'un des premiers *tubba'* (rois yéménites dont le pouvoir couvre toute l'Arabie méridionale) et ont fait de lui un héros légendaire, auquel sont attribuées des conquêtes lointaines et fabuleuses²⁷.

III. LA SECONDE GUERRE ḤIMYARITO-ḤAḌRAMAWTIQUE SOUS YĀSIR^{UM} YUHAN'IM II ET DHAMAR'ALĪ YUḤABIRR: LA CONQUÊTE DU ḤAḌRAMAWT ORIENTAL

La seconde guerre met un terme définitif à l'indépendance du Ḥaḍramawt, qui est annexé par Ḥimyar. Son déroulement montre que les règnes de Yāsir^{um} Yuhan'im et de Dhamar'alī Yuḥabirr se suivent, ce qui rejette Karīb'il Watār Yuhan'im avant Yāsir^{um} Yuhan'im II.

Les documents: CIH 397, Ir 31, Ir 32, Ja 665, Schmidt-Ma'rib 28+Ja 668. Ce sont des commémorations d'offrandes au dieu Almaḡah dans le temple Awwām de Marib ou dans celui de Ṣirwāḥ (CIH 397). En dehors de Ja 665, qui date de la première phase du conflit, tous évoquent le même raid victorieux qui semble avoir été décisif pour la victoire de Ḥimyar.

Ja 665, Ir 32 et CIH 397

Ja 665 et Ir 32 rapportent de manière détaillée deux campagnes de cette seconde guerre. L'écart chronologique entre ces deux campagnes ne doit pas être très grand puisque les deux textes ont le même auteur, exerçant les mêmes fonctions: »Sa'adta'lab Yatlaf b. Gadan^{um}, chef des (tribus) nomades du roi de Saba', à savoir Kiddat, Madhḡig^{um}, Ḥarīm^{um}, Bāhil^{um} et Zayd'il, et de toutes les (tribus) nomades de Saba', Ḥimyar^{um}, Ḥaḍramawt et Yamnat^{um}».

Pourtant, les deux inscriptions datent de deux règnes différents. La campagne dont Ja 665 rapporte le déroulement est commandée par »leur seigneur Yāsir^{um} Yuhan'im et son fils Dhara'amar Ayman, rois de Saba', dhu-Raydān, Ḥaḍramawt et Yamnat« (ll. 7-11). Le raid relaté par Ir 32 est ordonné par »leur seigneur Dhamar'alī Yuḥabirr roi de Saba', dhu-Raydān, Ḥaḍramawt et Yamnat« (ll. 9-10). Il importe donc de rechercher si les deux campagnes se suivent immédiatement, ce qui permettrait de conclure que Dhamar'alī succède à Yāsir^{um}.

²⁵ Louvre 205, dans Y. Calvet - Ch. Robin, *Arabie heureuse, Arabie déserte. Les antiquités arabiques du Musée du Louvre, Notes et documents des Musées de France* 31 (1997).

²⁶ Bien que l'inscription ne le précise pas, Imru' al-Qays est probablement le deuxième souverain de la principauté d'al-Ḥīra.

²⁷ A. F. L. Beeston, Hamdānī and the Tabābī'ah, dans: Y. M. Abdallah (ed.), *Al-Hamdānī, a Great Yemeni Scholar. Studies on the Occasion of His Millennial Anniversary* (1986/1407 h.) 5-15; C. E. Bosworth (ed.), *The History of al-Ṭabarī V. The Sāsānids, the Byzantines, the Lakhmids, and Yemen*, Bibliotheca Persica (1999) 176 sq.

²⁸ S'i'd't'lb Yalf bn Gdn^{um} kbr "rb mlk S'b' w-Kdt w-Mḡḡg^{um} w-Hrm^{um} w-Bḡḡ^{um} w-Zyd'l w-kl "rb S'b' w-Hmyr^{um} w-Ḥḡrmt w-Ymnt. Cette titulature énumère »les (tribus) nomades du roi de Saba'« (noter le mot »roi«), une série de tribus arabes, enfin »toutes les (tribus) nomades de Saba', Ḥimyar^{um}, Ḥaḍramawt et Yamnat« (sans mention du roi). Il semblerait qu'elle distingue deux catégories de tribus nomades: celles qui dépendent directement de la couronne et celles qui se rattachent à l'un des quatre ensembles tribaux constituant le royaume. On ne saurait dire si les tribus de Kiddat, Madhḡig^{um}, Ḥarīm^{um}, Bāhil^{um} et Zayd'l appartiennent à la première catégorie ou constituent un ensemble autonome. Dans Ir 32/12-13, on relève l'expression »les (tribus) nomades du roi de Saba', à savoir Kiddat, Naḡrān et Suflān« (w-"rb mlk S'b' w-Kdt w-Nḡr^{um} w-S'f'f'um); il est vraisemblable que Naḡrān et Suflān sont des sous-groupes relevant de Madhḡig^{um}, Ḥarīm^{um}, Bāhil^{um} ou Zayd'l.

On notera que Sa'adta'lab est un Sabéen de haut rang: le lignage de Gadan^{um}, auquel il appartient, est classé par les traditionnistes parmi les Mathāmīna²⁹.

Selon Ja 665, les deux rois Yāsir^{um} Yuhan'im et Dhara'amar Ayman envoient Sa'adta'lab en avant-garde de l'armée royale vers le Ḥaḍramawt. La troupe commandée par Sa'adta'lab se compose de deux groupes, des auxiliaires nomades originaires de Kiddat et les citoyens de deux cités du Jawf, Nashq^{um} et Nashshān³⁰. Quand le corps expéditionnaire se concentre à 'Abrān (auj. al-'Abr, à 220 km à l'est-nord-est de Marib et à 90 km au nord de Shabwa), il compte 750 chameliers et 70 cavaliers. On peut supposer que les Kiddites viennent des régions situées entre Qaryat al-Fāw et le Ḥaḍramawt, d'où le choix de 'Abrān comme point de rencontre.

Cinq épisodes sont rapportés:

1. Le premier affrontement (ll. 16–24) oppose l'avant-garde de cette troupe (trente chameliers et quatre cavaliers) à une petite formation (soixante-dix chameliers) que le roi du Ḥaḍramawt a chargée de capturer un Sabéen. Ce roi, le dernier du Ḥaḍramawt, n'est pas nommé ici, mais on trouve son nom (Anmār^{um}) à la fin d'Ir 32. Le heurt se produit à Arāk (ʾrk, l. 22), peut-être l'actuel Bi'r Ḥamad, et se conclut par le massacre de tous les Ḥaḍramawtiques sauf un chamelier et trois fantassins. C'est au même endroit que, sous le règne de Shammar Yuhar'ish, des cavaliers ḥimyarites avaient tendu une embuscade à des Kiddites portant secours au Ḥaḍramawt (M. Bayhān 5, ci-dessus).
2. Ensuite, l'ensemble de la troupe lance un raid contre Duhr et Rakhyat, deux wādīs immédiatement au sud et au sud-ouest de Bi'r Ḥamad, et y fait du butin (ll. 24–27).
3. Après cela, la même troupe combat sous les sources de Khuṣ^{um}, à 70 km au nord-nord-est de Shabwa, non loin d'al-'Abr (ll. 27–28). Le laconisme de ce passage, qui ne donne aucun détail sur les forces engagées ni sur l'issue de la bataille suggère que les ḥimyarites ont été dominés ou même défaits.
4. Plus tard, le camp ḥimyarite est attaqué de nuit par l'armée du Ḥaḍramawt, qui compte 3 500 chameliers et 125 cavaliers, commandés par

Rabī'at fils de Wā'il^{um}, Dhuhl^{um} le Wā'ilite et Afṣā fils de Gummān, capitaine des chameliers (ll. 31–33)³¹. Les ḥimyarites tuent 850 hommes et font 470 prisonniers, notamment Afṣā le capitaine et Jusham capitaine des cavaliers³²; ils capturent 45 chevaux et en mettent 30 hors de combat; ils s'emparent enfin de 1200 chameaux avec leur harnachement (ll. 28–39).

5. Le dernier épisode (ll. 39–46) n'est pas mieux localisé que le précédent. Sa'adta'lab est appelé à l'aide à cause de l'attaque d'un certain Ba's^{um} (B's^{um}). Avec 35 cavaliers, il remporte un succès total, se saisit du campement et des chameaux; seul Ba's^{um}, un cheval et une chamelle lui échappent.

Dans les souhaits finaux, l'auteur indique incidemment qu'il n'a perdu qu'un seul homme.

Le texte est complet. La guerre qu'il décrit se déroule dans le désert entre Marib et Shabwat. L'issue du conflit est encore incertaine quand Sa'adta'lab revient à Marib et dédie son offrande dans le temple Awwām.

Ir 32 a le même auteur, Sa'adta'lab. Ce général sabéen est en garnison avec sa troupe d'Arabes à Nashq^{um}, dans le Jawf, pour assurer une protection contre le Ḥaḍramawt, quand le roi Dhamar'alī Yuhabir lui ordonne de partir en campagne. La troupe qu'il commande se concentre au temple de dhu-<Ya>ghrū, à 80 km au nord-est de Nashq^{um}; elle se compose de 300 Sabéens de Marib, de 300 auxiliaires nomades de Kiddat, de Nagrān et

²⁹ Robin 1989 op cit. (v. n. 19). Sa'adta'lab, bien que Sabéen, porte un nom composé avec le dieu d'une autre tribu, à savoir Ta'lab dieu de Sam'i. C'est inhabituel. Une explication pourrait être que la mère de Sa'adta'lab était originaire de Sam'i; une autre possibilité serait que Sa'adta'lab était lui-même Sam'i yote et qu'il avait reçu en apanage, pour services rendus au souverain, les biens du lignage Gadan^{um}.

³⁰ Ll. 12–14, *w-tmhrt-hw ʾrb mlk S'b' w-Kdt w-b'l Ns'q' w-Ns'*. Cependant, aux ll. 20–21, il est indiqué que le roi du Ḥaḍramawt cherche à capturer un prisonnier «dans le contingent des Deux villes et de Marib» (*bn ms'b' hgrnhn w-Mrb*). Cette indication suggère que la troupe comptait également des combattants originaires de Marib. Ce pourrait être tout simplement les parents et les proches qui accompagnaient Sa'adta'lab.

³¹ *Rb't bn W'lm w-Dhl' W'ly w-'fys bn Gmn nhl rkb'*.

³² *G'm nhl f'rs'*.

du Jawf³³, et de 70 cavaliers (dont 20 amenés de Nashq^{um}).

Sans donner d'information sur la situation militaire générale, Sa'adta'lab rapporte qu'il lance un raid contre Şawa'rān, la ville qui défend l'entrée du wādī Ḥaḍramawt, à 150 km à l'est nord-est de Shabwa. Après une tentative de résistance, la ville capitule.

Ensuite la troupe, renforcée par des hommes de Şawa'rān, se dirige contre Shibām et Şadifān; la bataille qui a lieu aux portes de Shibām fait 70 morts chez l'ennemi, qui se replie dans la ville, mais capitule après un siège de 13 jours.

Le raid se poursuit avec la prise de Raḡhat^{um}, Say'ūn, Maryamat^{um} et Ḥidb. Il atteint 'Urr Ahlān et Tarīm, assiège cette ville, coupe deux mille arbres³⁴, et obtient la capitulation après un siège de 12 jours.

Il se termine avec des opérations contre Dammūn, Maṣṣat et 'Urr Kulayb^{um}, qui capitule.

Lors du retour dans la capitale, Zafār, le bilan est impressionnant, avec 1300 ennemis tués, 100 (guerriers) prisonniers et 3000 captifs. Sa'adta'lab ramène ainsi «Anmā^{um} que les Ḥaḍramawtiques avaient fait roi» (ll. 42–43)³⁵, Rabī'at fils de Wā'il^{um} (mentionné comme l'un des commandants d'une armée dans Ja 665/31–32), Afṣā fils de Gummān et Gusham fils de Mālik^{um} (capturés lors des opérations rapportées dans Ja 665: voir ll. 35–36), plus cinq autres personnages, tous Şadifites, auxquels s'ajoutent deux Saybānites et quatre [...].

L'inscription CIH 397 complète la description des effectifs participant au raid de Sa'adta'lab. Ses auteurs, des habitants de Şirwāḥ clients du roi³⁶, participent à une expédition militaire dans le Sarīrān, sous la direction de Sa'adta'lab dhu-Gadan^{um}, «avec la tribu de Saba' et les Arabes» (ll. 7–8)³⁷. Eux-mêmes se rangent certainement parmi les «Arabes» puisque, comme clients du roi, ils n'appartiennent pas à une tribu sudarabique³⁸.

Plusieurs indices donnent à penser que Ja 665 et Ir 32 se rapportent bien à deux épisodes successifs d'une même guerre³⁹. Dans les deux inscriptions, Sa'adta'lab b. Gadan^{um} porte exactement le même titre très détaillé. Ja 665 mentionne trois chefs ḥaḍramawtiques, Rabī'at, Afṣā et Gusham, et souligne que les deux derniers ont été capturés; or, Ir 32 rapporte que ces trois chefs sont amenés à Zafār, avec d'autres prisonniers de marque. On

peut supposer que ce transport des prisonniers dans la capitale se fait dès que possible, et qu'il n'est pas postérieur à leur capture de plus de quelques années⁴⁰. Il apparaît par ailleurs peu vraisemblable que Afṣā et Gusham ait été libérés par les Ḥimyarites, puis capturés une seconde fois. On ajoutera que la troupe commandée par Sa'adta'lab lors des deux campagnes ne varie guère: selon Ja 665, elle compte 750 chameliers et 70 cavaliers, originaires de la tribu arabe de Kiddat d'une part, des villes sabéennes de Nashq^{um} et de Nashshān d'autre part; d'après Ir 32, elle se compose de 300 Sabéens de Marib, de 300 Arabes de Kiddat, de Nagrān et de Suflān (= le Jawf?), et de 70 cavaliers (dont 20 qui étaient en garnison à Nashq^{um}).

Le changement de règne entre Ja 665 et Ir 32 peut s'interpréter de multiples façons. Cependant, le laconisme avec lequel Ja 665/27–28 évoque la bataille de Khurṣ^{um} amène à se demander si les Ḥimyarites n'ont pas subi une défaite, dans laquelle les rois Yāsir^{um} Yuhān'im et Dhara'amar Ayman – qui participaient effectivement à la campagne (voir ll. 9–11) – auraient été tués.

³³ Pour Beeston, *S'f'* désigne les Basses Terres du Yémen intérieur (lowland). Il se pourrait que ce soit plus précisément le Jawf. Al-Hamdānī mentionne d'ailleurs un petit terroir appelé al-Sufl dans le Jawf supérieur: D. H. Müller, *Al-Hamdānī's Geographie der arabischen Halbinsel I*. II (1884–91, reprise par le même éd. 1968) 110/6. – La racine *S'FL* est trop commune pour que: c'est ce qui nous amène à reconnaître dans *S'f'* le nom antique du Jawf.

³⁴ C'est ainsi que j'entends «*md*»; le DS hésite entre «échalas; pied de vigne» et «champ irrigué».

³⁵ «*nm*» *q-hmlkw Ḥḍrmwt*, interprétation présentée par S. Frantsouzoff en juin 2001 à Paris. La formulation souligne la légitimité douteuse de ce souverain aux yeux du pouvoir ḥimyarite. Il n'est pas possible de dire si le Ḥaḍramawt a eu une série ininterrompue de souverains jusqu'à ce règne ou si Anmā^{um} est devenu roi à l'occasion de la révolte de territoires dominés par Ḥimyar.

³⁶ *['i]rb' 'dm mlk*.

³⁷ *b-'m s'ib' b' b' w-'rb*.

³⁸ Ils se disent «*Şirwāḥites*», mais ici la *nisha* renvoie probablement à l'origine géographique et non à l'origine tribale.

³⁹ C'était déjà l'opinion de J. Ryckmans, avant même la publication définitive de Ir 32: voir J. Ryckmans, *Nouvelle interprétation d'un texte sabéen*, *BiOr* 25 (1968) 5–8.

⁴⁰ Il n'y avait sans doute qu'une seule campagne chaque année: les hommes des tribus, qui sont des agriculteurs, ne pouvaient s'absenter que durant les périodes d'inactivité, à savoir quand il n'y a rien à planter ou à récolter. La période la plus propice pour les campagnes militaires est l'hiver.

Ir 31

Une autre inscription, Ir 31, se rapporte certainement aux mêmes événements.

Le gouverneur de la tribu de Saba', Laffa'athat Yashū' b. Mirhāb^{um}, se félicite d'avoir participé avec la tribu de Saba' à une campagne particulièrement fructueuse au Ḥaḍramawt, sur l'ordre du roi Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr. Cette campagne le conduit à Ṣawa'rān, 'Uqrān, Shabwat, Ratghat^{um}, Maryamar^{um} et Tarīm. Il s'agit manifestement des opérations que Sa'adta'lab décrit dans Ir 32. On peut en conclure que Laffa'athat est le chef des 300 Sabéens qui se joignent à la troupe de Sa'adta'lab. Il est intéressant de noter que, dans sa dédicace, Laffa'athat ne mentionne pas Sa'adta'lab, mais seulement le roi: comme chef sabéen, il ne doit pas alléger à un autre Sabéen, mais seulement au souverain.

Laffa'athat fait deux ajouts intéressants à la liste des villes mentionnées par Sa'adta'lab, à savoir 'Uqrān et Shabwat. Si, avec ses hommes, il conduit des opérations contre ces deux villes, il en résulte que Shabwat a été réoccupée – ou tout au moins menacée – par les rebelles. On notera cependant que, parmi tous les textes qui se rapportent à cette guerre, Ir 31 est le seul à mentionner l'ancienne capitale du Ḥaḍramawt; par ailleurs, aucun fait d'arme n'est évoqué à son propos. Le contrôle de Shabwat n'a donc pas été longuement disputé.

Schmidt-Ma'rib 28 + Ja 668

Schmidt-Ma'rib 28 est la partie médiane d'une inscription et Ja 668 en est la fin. Les deux documents datent du même règne et rapportent les mêmes événements; ils comptent approximativement le même nombre de lettres par ligne⁴¹; enfin, ils présentent la même graphie. Comme l'a suggéré Serge Frantsozoff dans une conférence à Paris en juin 2001, il est vraisemblable qu'il s'agit de deux fragments d'une même stèle.

Le début, avec l'identité des auteurs et la nature de l'offrande, manque. Le premier fragment (Schmidt-Ma'rib 28) commence avec [l'ordre] que donnent Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr et son fils Tha'rān Yuhan'im de partir en guerre contre Ṣadifān et une partie du Ḥaḍramawt.

La troupe, qui compte 300 chameliers, soumet Ṣawa'rān, puis 'Uqrān, qui s'engage à accorder son aide aux rois de Saba' et de dhu-Raydān (noter ici la titulature courte). Elle attaque alors Shibām et affronte Ṣadifān et les citoyens de Shibām, à savoir 2000 hommes et trois cavaliers. Les pertes de l'ennemi se montent à 200 blessés et à 100 tués. Le fragment s'interrompt ici.

Ce récit s'accorde assez bien avec Ir 31 et 32. Par rapport à Ir 32, dont l'auteur est le chef du corps expéditionnaire, on notera un ajout (les opérations contre 'Uqrān) et une différence (le ralliement de 'Uqrān, alors que dans Ir 32, il n'est question que de celui de Ṣawa'rān). Par rapport à Ir 31, dont l'auteur est le chef du contingent sabéen, la correspondance est parfaite, tenu compte du fait que Schmidt-Ma'rib 28 est lacunaire.

Concernant les effectifs mentionnés, l'identité est presque parfaite. Dans Ir 32, les Sabéens sont au nombre de 300, tout comme la troupe des assaillants dans Schmidt-Ma'rib 28. Quant aux pertes du Ḥaḍramawt lors de la conquête de Shibām, ils se montent à 70 selon Ir 32 (après la bataille, mais avant le siège et la prise de la ville), et à 100 au total selon Schmidt-Ma'rib 28.

Le second fragment (Ja 668), qui donne la fin du texte, révèle que l'inscription a été rédigée par la tribu Saba' Kahlān (ll. 7–8, 10, 12). Dans les cinq premières lignes, très fragmentaires, on reconnaît le nom de Shibām (l. 1) et la mention des rois (ll. 3–5). La fin comporte les louanges adressées au dieu Almaqah – qui a protégé ses fidèles et leur a accordé «tués, prisonniers et captifs en grand nombre... dans toutes les villes de Sarīrān» (ll. 8–11) – et les souhaits habituels.

À nouveau, nous avons avec Schmidt-Ma'rib 28 + Ja 668 une allusion au raid commandé par Sa'adta'lab Yatlaf. Le fait que, dans Ir 31 et 32, les auteurs mentionnent un seul roi (Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr), mais que dans Schmidt-Ma'rib 28 + Ja 668, ils donnent à ce roi un corégent, s'explique aisément: la dédicace de Schmidt-Ma'rib 28 + Ja 668 est légèrement postérieure à celle d'Ir 31 et 32. On

⁴¹ Les dimensions de Schmidt-Ma'rib 28 ne sont pas données par l'éditeur, de sorte qu'il n'est pas possible de s'assurer que les deux fragments ont la même largeur.

peut en déduire que Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr, qui a accédé au trône pendant le conflit (peut-être à la suite de la défaite et de la disparition de Yāsir^{um} Yuhan'im II), associe au trône son fils Tha'rān Yuhan'im, très peu de temps après la victoire.

Ces cinq documents sont les derniers qui fassent mention d'une résistance du Ḥaḍramawt à l'hégémonie ḥimyarite. On peut donc supposer que les victoires de Sa'adta'lab, et sans doute les succès d'autres généraux, qui aboutissent à la capture du roi Anmār^{um}, ont été décisives. Désormais, tout le Ḥaḍramawt est soumis. Une confirmation est apportée par l'inscription de 'Abadān: sous la conduite du roi Tha'rān Yu(ha)n'im, des opérations militaires sont lancées par les Yaz'anides contre les tribus arabes au nord du Yémen, notamment contre Asdān. Comme nous le verrons, les premières de ces campagnes peuvent être datées vers 440 ḥim. (330 è. chr.). Elles seraient impossibles si la guerre faisait rage au Ḥaḍramawt.

Le déroulement du conflit

Le Ḥaḍramawt, à cette époque, se limite probablement à la partie orientale de l'ancien royaume: les opérations militaires visent les wādīs Duhr et Rakhyat, et les villes de Sarīrān, entre Ṣawa'rān et Tarīm; par ailleurs, les prisonniers mentionnés dans Ir 32 sont originaires de Ṣadifān et de Saybān, tribus établies dans le wādī Ḥaḍramawt et dans les régions qui s'étendent entre celui-ci et la mer. Shabwat, l'ancienne capitale, ne semble pas avoir été durablement échappé au contrôle de Ḥimyar. Cependant, bien qu'amputé de ses possessions occidentales, le Ḥaḍramawt est encore menaçant: d'après Ir 32/7, Sa'adta'lab est en garnison à Nashq^{um} à cause de lui.

Le déroulement des opérations peut être reconstitué, pour une part de manière assurée, pour une autre de manière hypothétique. Sous la corégence de Yāsir^{um} Yuhan'im II et de son fils Dhara''amar Ayman, le conflit avec le Ḥaḍramawt renaît. Le litige porte principalement sur la possession de Shabwat. Anmār^{um}, le roi du Ḥaḍramawt, a le soutien des tribus de Ṣadifān et de Saybān, qui contrôlent le wādī Ḥaḍramawt et les territoires entre le wādī et la mer.

La guerre se déroule d'abord dans le désert entre Marib et Shabwat. Malgré la réussite de quelques opérations de diversion à l'entrée du wādī Ḥaḍramawt, commandées par le Sabéen Sa'adta'lab Yatlaf et sa petite troupe (750 chameliers et 70 cavaliers, fournis par la tribu arabe de Kiddat et par les cités sabéennes de Nashq^{um} et Nashshān), il semblerait que Ḥimyar soit défait et ses rois tués. La guerre reprend après l'accession au trône de Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr. Alors que le conflit se poursuit dans le désert, le même Sa'adta'lab Yatlaf réussit un raid audacieux. Il concentre dans un lieu discret, le temple de Yaghrū, qui se trouve dans un wādī encaissé à quelques dizaines de kilomètres au nord du Jawf, une troupe regroupant 300 Sabéens de Marib, 300 Arabes (de Kiddat, Nagrān et Suflān) et 70 cavaliers. Cette troupe, qui échappe à la vigilance de l'armée du Ḥaḍramawt, en passant par le désert au nord d'al-'Abr, fond à l'improviste sur Ṣawa'rān, qui défend l'entrée du wādī Ḥaḍramawt, et parvient à s'en emparer. Elle convainc les citoyens de Ṣawa'rān de faire défection, puis ceux de 'Uqrān, et prend successivement toutes les villes importantes du wādī, d'autant plus aisément que les meilleurs guerriers de Sarīrān sont absents, en campagne avec le roi du Ḥaḍramawt. Elle ramène à Ṣafār plusieurs captifs prestigieux, notamment Anmār^{um}, que les Ḥaḍramawtiques avaient fait roi⁴², et des chefs des tribus de Ṣadifān et Saybān.

Ce raid extraordinaire assure la gloire de ceux qui y ont participé. Son chef, Sa'adta'lab Yatlaf, fait une dédicace au temple de Marib, accompagnée d'une longue inscription dans laquelle il relate en détail ses exploits (Ir 32). Le chef du contingent sabéen, Laffa'athat Yashū' b. Mirḥāb^{um}, fait de même (Ir 31), bientôt imité par la tribu Saba' Kahlān (Schmidt-Ma'rib 28 + Ja 668). De leur côté, des Arabes de Ṣirwāḥ font également une dédicace dans le temple de Ṣirwāḥ (CIH 397). Grâce aux petites différences que présentent ces récits, on apprend que les Sabéens ont mené quelques opérations de façon autonome, notamment contre 'Uqrān, située un peu à l'écart du wādī Ḥaḍramawt, et contre Shabwat.

⁴² Si Sa'adta'lab avait capturé lui-même Anmār^{um}, il ne manquerait pas de s'en glorifier. Il faut donc supposer que le roi a été fait prisonnier par une autre armée, dans des circonstances que nous ignorons, probablement après le succès du raid de Sa'adta'lab.

Ces événements sont ignorés des traditions arabes d'époque islamique. Seul le nom du roi Yāsir^{um} Yuhan'im survit dans un fragment poétique que cite al-Hamdānī:

*Wa-anā Abū Karib wa-'ammī Yāsir
dhū l-tāj Yun'im wa-bnu-hu Tārān*

«Je suis Abū Karib et mon oncle est Yāsir
le Couronné Yun'im, et son fils Tārān⁴³».

L'identification repose sur le fait que ce Yāsir est un roi et qu'il a un fils nommé Tārān (= Tha'rān).

Quant à Dhamar'alī Yuhabir, seul un nom identique au sien subsiste dans les généalogies, sous la forme Yuhbir dhū l-Mar'alī⁴⁴. Rien ne permet d'identifier ce Yuhbir avec le souverain du IV^e s.: il n'est pas roi et son fils s'appelle Makhmir.

IV. LES DONNÉES CHRONOLOGIQUES DE 'ABADĀN I

L'inscription 'Abadān 1, exceptionnelle par sa longueur et son contenu, narre en détail la saga d'un noble ḥaḍramawtique, Malshan Aryam, du lignage de Yaz'an, et de ses descendants: ses fils Khawliyy^{um} Yazīd, Shuriḥbi'l A[...], Ma'dikarib [...] et Marthad^{um} Am[...], et ses petits-fils Baril^{um} Yamgid, Khawliyy^{um} Yazīd et Shuriḥbi'l A[...], fils de Ma'dikarib. Après un bref récapitulatif, le rédacteur organise sa relation en deux parties. Dans la première (ll. 4–32), il rapporte dans l'ordre chronologique une série d'expéditions militaires dans la chaîne montagneuse qui borde la mer Rouge (*S'ḥrt*), en Oman et en Arabie centrale. Dans la seconde partie (ll. 32–40), il énumère les opérations immobilières et les aménagements agricoles réalisés pendant la même période, l'achat de cinq vaisseaux de mer et l'exécution d'une suite de chasses prestigieuses. Le document se termine avec un bilan des ennemis tués par les descendants de Malshan:

- Fils: 11 pour le qayl Khawliyy^{um}; 10 pour Shuriḥbi'l; 9 pour Ma'dikarib; 10 pour Marthad^{um};
- Petit-fils: 3 pour Baril^{um},

suivi par les invocations rituelles et la date. Dans ce bilan, seuls apparaissent les quatre fils de Malshan et un seul de ses trois petits-fils. Malshan lui-même n'est pas cité. Il convient de noter également que seul Khawliyy^{um} est paré du titre de qayl.

Les expéditions militaires ne sont pas rapportées pour elles-mêmes, mais comme preuves des apti-

tudes militaires des descendants de Malshan. Le rédacteur ponctue son récit avec l'indication que tel ou tel descendant «participe au combat pour la première fois» (*tḥkr*) ou au contraire est libéré de ses obligations (*ḥtḡf*).

1. Premier épisode (ll. 4–5): campagne de Malshan avec, pour la première fois, la participation de Khawliyy^{um}, puis campagnes de Khawliyy^{um} seul; l'une de ces dernières est dirigée par le roi Tha'rān Yun'im.
2. Deuxième épisode (ll. 5–10): campagne de Khawliyy^{um} avec, pour la première fois, la participation de son frère Shuriḥbi'l; puis campagne de Malshan avec ses deux aînés, Khawliyy^{um} et Shuriḥbi'l.
3. Troisième épisode (ll. 10–12): campagne de Malshan, Khawliyy^{um} et Shuriḥbi'l avec, pour la première fois, la participation de Ma'dikarib. C'est la dernière campagne à laquelle concourt Malshan.
4. Quatrième épisode (ll. 12–26): campagne de Khawliyy^{um}, Shuriḥbi'l et Ma'dikarib avec, pour la première fois, la participation de leur frère Marthad^{um}. D'autres campagnes suivent, notamment l'une sous le commandement du roi Tha'rān Yun'im, et une autre avec le roi Tha'rān Ayfa'.
5. Cinquième épisode (ll. 26–27): campagne de Shuriḥbi'l et Ma'dikarib, sous la direction du roi Dhamar'alī Ayfa', «après que leur frère Khawliyy^{um} eut été libéré de ses obligations».
6. Sixième épisode (ll. 27–32): campagne de Ma'dikarib et de Marthad^{um}, après que leur frère Shuriḥbi'l eut été libéré de ses obligations, avec, pour la première fois, la participation de Baril^{um} (fils de Ma'dikarib).

⁴³ Ch. Toll (ed.), al-Hamdānī, *Kitāb al-Ḥaḥarāt al-'atīqān al-mā'atān aṣ-ṣafrā' wa'l-baiḍā'*, Die beiden Edelmetalle Gold und Silber, Acta Universitatis Upsalensis, Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 1 (1968) 74, traduction, et 75, texte arabe.

⁴⁴ Voir Al-Hamdānī, *Kitāb al-Iḥlāl*, al-juz' al-ṭānī, li-Lisān al-Yaman Abī Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Ya'qūb al-Hamdānī, ḥaḡqaḡa-hu wa-'allaḡa ḥawāṣī-hi Muḥammad b. 'Alī l-Akwa' al-Ḥiwālī (al-Maktaba al-yamaniyya, 3), al-Qāhira (al-Sunna al-muḥammadiyya) (1967) 97/3 et 100/9; O. Löfgren (ed.), al-Hamdānī *sūdarabisches Muṣṭabih. Verzeichnis homonymer und homographier Eigennamen*, Bibliotheca Ekmaniana Universitatis Regiae Upsaliensis 57 (1953) n° 462 et 438.

La seconde partie, qui a pour fonction d'affirmer des droits sur des biens et des territoires, mentionne un événement notable: la reconstruction de la ville de 'Abadān, détruite par le Ḥaḍramawt (l. 32).

L'inscription est datée de dhu-madhra'ān 470, soit juillet 360.

Les données chronologiques indirectes sont nombreuses, mais dépendent de l'âge qu'il faut avoir pour participer à des opérations militaires et de celui qui libère de tout service. Il est vraisemblable qu'un jeune noble ne part pas en campagne avant d'avoir atteint 18 ans, à un ou deux ans près.

L'âge de la réforme peut également être évalué approximativement. Malshan cesse de participer aux campagnes militaires quand son quatrième fils Marthad^{um} est admis à combattre pour la première fois. Si on suppose qu'il a eu son premier enfant vers 18 ans, il a alors 18 ans (âge à la naissance de Khawli^{um}), plus 18 ans (âge de la majorité de Khawli^{um}), plus le temps nécessaire pour avoir quatre fils (au moins cinq ans), soit plus de 41 ans. Nous retenons le nombre de 45 ans.

Au moment où l'inscription est rédigée, Bar'il^{um}, fils de Ma'dikarib, aurait donc plus de 18 ans, Khawli^{um} et Shuriḥbi'il plus de 45 ans, et Malshan plus de 63 ans.

Entre la première participation au combat de Khawli^{um} (épisode n° 1) et la date de rédaction de l'inscription (470 ḥim.), il a passé au moins 30 ans (27 ans d'activités militaires de Khawli^{um}, plus la différence d'âge entre Khawli^{um} et Shuriḥbi'il). Les campagnes militaires rapportées s'étalent donc entre 440 (ou un peu plus tôt) et 470 ḥim.

Le roi Tha'rān Yun'im est mentionné dans les épisodes n° 1 (vers 440) et 4 (entre la première campagne de Marthad^{um}, quatrième fils de Malshan, et la retraite de Khawli^{um}, soit 450–465 environ).

Les rois Tha'rān Ayfa' et Dhamar'alī Ayfa' dirigent des campagnes dans les épisodes 4 (vers 450–465) et 5 (retraite de Khawli^{um}, vers 467), probablement parce que le roi Tha'rān Yun'im commence à prendre de l'âge.

Enfin, la dévastation de la ville de 'Abadān par le Ḥaḍramawt (l. 32) date probablement de la seconde guerre entre Ḥimyar et le Ḥaḍramawt, sous les règnes de Yāsir^{um} Yuhan'im II et de Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr. En effet, la reconstruction de la ville est mentionnée en tête des opérations immobilières

réalisées par Malshan, au début de sa carrière. On peut en déduire que les Yaz'anides (qui, au III^e s. è. chr. relevaient du Ḥaḍramawt), ont choisi le camp ḥimyarite lors de cette seconde guerre.

Les données chronologiques les plus importantes seraient ainsi:

Avant 440	Destruction de la ville de 'Abadān par le Ḥaḍramawt
Vers 440 au plus tard	Khawli ^{um} fils de Malshan guerroye avec le roi Tha'rān Yu(ha)n'im Reconstruction de 'Abadān [...] et Marthad ^{um} , fils de Malshan, guerroyent avec le roi Tha'rān Yu(ha)n'im Les fils de Malshan guerroyent avec le roi Tha'rān Ayfa'
Vers 450–465	
Peu avant 470	Shuriḥbi'il et Ma'dikarib, fils de Malshan, guerroyent avec le roi Dhamar'alī Ayfa'

La durée du règne de Tha'rān est assez longue. Il règne seul (semble-t-il) en 434 ḥim., date qui s'accorde bien avec la chronologie de 'Abadān 1. Il ne participe plus aux opérations militaires rapportées par 'Abadān 1, à partir de 460 environ, sans doute parce son âge le lui interdit désormais. L'association de son fils Malkikarib Yuha'min au trône est probablement postérieure à 470, puisque ce fils n'est pas mentionné dans 'Abadān 1.

Malkikarib ne semble pas avoir régné seul: dans toutes ses inscriptions, ses deux fils Abikarib As'ad et Dhara'amar Ayman sont associés au trône. On peut en déduire que Malkikarib Yuha'min a déjà un âge avancé quand il succède à son père puisqu'il doit faire immédiatement appel à des corégentes – probablement pour conduire les opérations guerrières. Il aurait donc plus de 45 ans quand il devient roi.

Les rois Tha'rān Ayfa' et Dhamar'alī Ayfa' qui dirigent des opérations militaires dans les années 460, d'après 'Abadān 1, sont probablement des parents, neveu ou fils, du roi Tha'rān Yuhan'im, qui n'ont jamais été formellement associés au trône, mais portent le titre de roi. La pratique est la même que pour les qayls: tous les mâles adultes de la famille portent le titre, mais un seul (en général) exerce la fonction.

Malgré la durée de son règne, Tha'rān Yuhan'im fils de Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr n'a pas marqué les

mémoires. Les traditions arabes l'ignorent presque totalement: on ne trouve qu'une seule mention de lui (ou d'un homonyme), sous la forme Tārān Yun'im, dans la généalogie d'un lignage noble de Ḥimyar⁴⁵; noter, à ce propos, que Yuhbir dhū l-Mar'alī (= Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr) est mentionné dans la généalogie du même lignage, mais à un degré éloigné de parenté. Le règne de Tha'rān fut sans doute trop paisible, sans guerres et sans drames, pour qu'on s'en souvienne.

V. LA SUCCESSION DES ROIS DE ḤIMYAR AU IV^e S. È. CHR.

Le déroulement de la seconde guerre entre Ḥimyar et le Ḥaḍramawt établit que le règne de Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr succède immédiatement à celui de Yāsir^{um} Yuhān'im en corégence avec son fils Dhara'amar Ayman.

Ce Dhara'amar Ayman est antérieur de 60 ans au moins à la première mention datée de Dhara'amar Ayman, fils de Malkikarib Yuha'min: les deux personnages doivent donc être distingués.

Le Yāsir^{um} Yuhān'im qui règne en corégence avec Tha'rān Ayfa' et avec son fils Dhara'amar Ayman peut-il être identifié avec le Yāsir^{um} Yuhān'im père de Shammar Yuhar'ish? La première mention du second se trouve dans Mi'sāl 5, qui date de 198 radm. (272–273 è. chr.); le second règne après 420 ḥim. (310–311 è. chr.). L'écart chronologique n'est pas favorable à l'identification. Par ailleurs il faudrait supposer une séquence compliquée de successions: Yāsir^{um} Yuhān'im en corégence avec son fils Shammar Yuhar'ish; règne de Shammar Yuhar'ish seul; retour sur le trône de Yāsir^{um} Yuhān'im, qui aurait été écarté pendant plus de 13 ans (au moins de [407] à 420[0] ḥim.), en corégence avec Tha'rān Ayfa', puis avec Dhara'amar Ayman. Si nous retenons la solution la plus simple (règle qui est appliquée ici de manière régulière), il convient certainement de distinguer ces deux souverains.

Qui sont les souverains de Garb Framm. Ep. Sab. 6, »[XXX Yu]han'im et de son fils [XXX A]yfa' rois[...]? La longueur de la lacune au début n'exclut pas quatre ou cinq lettres. L'épithète Yuhān'im est portée par Karib'il Yuhān'im (forme brève de Karib'il Watār Yuhān'im, dans Ja 666/13), par les deux Yāsir^{um} Yuhān'im et par Tha'rān Yuhān'im. Il est difficile de choisir entre ces trois possibilités.

Quant à Ayfa', on peut certainement restituer Tha'rān avant lui.

Tout aussi incertaine est la restitution de Gl 1539, »[XXX] et son frère Tha'rān Ayfa' rois[...]. Si nous supposons qu'il s'agit du même Tha'rān Ayfa' dans Garb Framm. Ep. Sab. 6 et dans Gl 1539, il reste à trouver deux noms, ceux de son père et de son frère, en accord avec la succession des règnes. De manière très hypothétique, je suggère de restituer [Karib'il] Yuhān'im pour le père et [Yāsir^{um} Yuhān'im] pour le frère. La corégence de Yāsir^{um} Yuhān'im et de Tha'rān Ayfa', sans indication du rapport de parenté, est attestée par Ja 664.

La chronologie interdit d'identifier ce Tha'rān Ayfa', corégent de Yāsir^{um} Yuhān'im avec celui de 'Abadān 1. Le règne de Yāsir^{um} Yuhān'im semble antérieur à 430 ḥim; or, dans 'Abadān 1, Tha'rān Ayfa' mène des opérations militaires vers 460–465.

Il reste enfin à placer le règne de Karib'il (Watār) Yuhān'im. Le seul espace ouvert se situe après la disparition de Shammar Yuhar'ish.

Le tableau chronologique qui résulte de cette étude est donné pp. 150 ff. Il présente un déséquilibre, avec un total de cinq à sept règnes et corérences entre Shammar Yuhar'ish et Tha'rān Yuhān'im, pendant un laps de temps inférieur à 14 ans (de 42[0] à 434 ḥim.), en contraste avec une stabilité remarquable auparavant et ensuite. Mais il ne semble pas possible de reconstruire une autre séquence des règnes. Une période de confusion et d'instabilité aurait donc suivi la disparition de Shammar Yuhar'ish; d'ailleurs, l'inscription Ja 667 ne fait-elle pas allusion à une sédition à Zafār?

Ce tableau comporte encore une incertitude importante: la date à laquelle Malkikarib Yuha'min a succédé à son père Tha'rān Yuhān'im. De manière quelque peu arbitraire, cette succession a été située approximativement à mi-durée entre 'Abadān 1 et les premières inscriptions monothéistes, soit vers 375 è. chr., avec une corégence de Tha'rān et Malkikarib entre 365 et 375 env. Quoi qu'il en soit, le roi Tha'rān Yuhān'im est certainement le souverain auquel Constance II (337–361) envoie une ambassade, sous la direction de Théophile l'Indien, apparemment dans les années 340 è. chr. (450 ḥim.).

⁴⁵ Al-Hamdānī op. cit. 99/9; voir aussi Löfgren op. cit. n° 191.

VI. QUELQUES REMARQUES SUR LA CHRONOLOGIE DE K. A. KITCHEN

K. A. Kitchen distingue huit règnes:

1. Yāsir^{um} Yuhān'im I⁴⁶, 275–285 environ

Ajouter aux références: J. Pirenne, *Raydān* 3, 1980, 24 et pl. vi c (monogramme *Ys'r'm* [...] | monogramme *w-d-Rydn* [...]).

Déplacer »Parrinello photo 3« sous Yāsir^{um} Yuhān'im II.

2. Shammar Yuhar'ish, 285–300 env.

L'inscription CIH 948 n'est pas une inscription royale. Corriger »Rayda« en Radā' (Kitchen 2000 p. 729 B 36); noter que Sharaf al-Dīn 32 (B 34) désigne le même document que Sharaf al-Dīn 41 (B 29; le second sigle est propre à A. Jamme); noter que Sharaf al-Dīn 33 est une copie altérée de Ja 656 (B 34).

Ajouter aux références Gl 1593 (SEG VII 48: ... *S²mr Yhr's²* [...]); Sharaf al-Dīn 34 et 35; YM 1695 (mentionné erronément sous Yāsir^{um} Yuhān'im II).

Supprimer Ja 2106 et Ja 2223, qui ne comportent pas de nom de roi ou dans lesquels le nom du roi est entièrement restitué.

3. Yāsir^{um} Yuhān'im II, 300–310 env.

Supprimer YM 1695 (qui date du règne de Shammar Yuhar'ish, TL).

Ajouter »Parrinello photo 3« (mentionné erronément sous Yāsir^{um} Yuhān'im I).

4. Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr II, 310–315 env.

Supprimer RES 3960 qui date probablement du II^e s. è. chr. (voir le nom de mois sabéen, *q-nš'wr*, dans la datation, l. 6). Ajouter Garb Sabaeen Fragments n° v ([*Dmr'ljy* symbole *Yh[br w-bn]* | [*y-bw* *Ṭ'r* symbole *n Y[hn'm]*], dans *Raydān* 1, 1978, 34 et pl. v).

5. Tha'rān III Yuhān'im, 315–340 env.

Signaler que, dans Mašna'at Māriya, le roi porte la titulature courte.

Supprimer RES 4716 qui date des rois homonymes du II^e s. è. chr. Ajouter Graf 5 (... *ḥw Ṭ'r*)

Yhn'm [...], dans NESE 1, 100–101 et fig. 38), qui est mentionné sous Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr.

6. Malkikarib Yuha'min I, 340–345 env.

Un seul document, RES 3444⁴⁷ est attribué, avec hésitation [M. Y. I ou II ?], à ce roi. Il se compose de deux blocs, remployés dans la mosquée de Min-kath, dans les environs de Zafār. Sur chacun de ces blocs, on reconnaît une suite de cinq figures. Le premier présente le triple emblème dynastique des rois ḥimyarites et deux monogrammes (ceux de *Ṣlkrb* et de *Yh'mn*); le second se compose du même triple emblème et également de deux monogrammes (cette fois, ceux de *Dr'mr* et de *ymn*). Ce document se trouve à gauche de RES 3383 (auteurs: Malkikarib Yuha'min et ses fils, Abikarib As'ad et Dhara'amar Ayman), attribué par Kitchen à Malkikarib Yuha'min II. Il est évident que la distinction de deux Malkikarib n'a aucun fondement.

Elle a en fait pour unique fonction de rompre la séquence généalogique Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr – Tha'rān Yuhān'im – Malkikarib Yuha'min – Abikarib As'ad, et de pouvoir introduire Karib'il Watār Yuhān'im (III) entre les deux Malkikarib.

7. Karib'il Watār Yuhān'im III, 345–360 env.

Les dates proposées correspondent à la période couverte par 'Abadān 1. Or cette inscription mentionne à deux reprises le roi Tha'rān Yun'im (ainsi que deux autres rois, Tha'rān Ayfa' et Dhamar'alī Ayfa'), mais non Karib'il. Le roi Karib'il Watār Yuhān'im (III) est nécessairement plus ancien (à moins qu'il ne s'agisse d'un usurpateur, interrompant quelque temps le règne de Tha'rān).

8. Ḥašš[ān] Malkikarib Yu(ha)'min II, 375–410 env.

Le nom Ḥaššān n'apparaît pas dans les inscriptions de ce roi; il se trouve seulement dans Ry 509,

⁴⁶ Pour les noms propres, l'orthographe adoptée ici n'est pas nécessairement celle de K. A. Kitchen.

⁴⁷ Voir la photographie publiée par G. Garbini, AION 30, 1970 pl. 11a.

dont les auteurs sont Abīkarib As'ad et Ḥaṣṣān Yuha'min, son fils et son petit-fils.

La référence à [Sari 4, 378 AD] est énigmatique.

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ESSAI DE RECONSTRUCTION DE LA CHRONOLOGIE ḤIMYARITE DU IV^e S. È. CHR.

Date è. chr.	Date locale	Règne et références principales	Événement
[265-288]		Yāsir ^{um} Yuhan'im 1 TC Yāsir ^{um} Yuhan'im 1 TC al-Mi'sāl 5	
272-273	198 radm.		
[270-290]		Yāsir ^{um} Yuhan'im 1 + fils Shammar Yuhar'ish TC	
nov. 275	385 ḥim.	CIH 46=G 799	
279/280	[3]89 ḥim.	GI 1594	
283±11	316 maḍḥ.	RES 4196	
juin 286	396 ḥim.	CIH 448+Hakir 1	Construction de l'enceinte de Hakir ^{um}
[288-312]		Shammar Yuhar'ish Shammar Yuhar'ish TC	
[296]			Prise de <i>Shabwat</i> Adoption de la titulature longue Raid de Imru' al-Qays († 328) contre Nagrān Raid sabéen dans Sarīrān
[296-312]		Shammar Yuhar'ish TL Av. Būsān 4 CIH 431+438+948, Ja 656 Sharaf al-Dīn 31	
juillet 297	[40]7 ḥim.		Même raid sabéen dans Sarīrān Ambassade ḥimyarite à Séleucie-Ctésiphon
mars 300	409 ḥim.	YMN 13=Mi'sāl 18	
31[0]-31[1]	42[0] ḥim.	YM 1695	
[312-316]		Karib'il (Watār) Yuhan'im TL Karib'il (Watār) Yuhan'im TL Ir 28 Ja 666 Ja 667	Ambassade en Abyssinie Épidémie Révolte à Zafār
		[Karib'il Yu]han'im + fils [Tha'rān A]yfa' 1 (Garb FES 6)	

[316-320]		Yāsir^{um} Yuhan'im Ⅱ TL Yāsir ^{um} Yuhan'im Ⅱ + Tha'rān Ayfa' Ⅰ TL (Ja 664) [Yāsir ^{um} Yuhan'im Ⅱ] + frère Tha'rān Ayfa' (Gl 1539) Yāsir ^{um} Yuhan'im Ⅱ + fils Dhara'amar Ayman Ⅰ TL (Ja 665)	
[320-324]		Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr TL Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr TL Ir 31, 32 Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr + fils Tha'rān (Yuhan'im) TL Schmidt-Ma'rib 28+Ja 668 CIH 457; Garb SF V	Conquête de Sarīrān Même conquête de Sarīrān
[324-375]		Tha'rān Yuhan'im TL Tha'rān Yuhan'im TC (Maṣna'at Māriya)	Ambassade de Théophile l'Indien
324/325	434 him.	Tha'rān Yun'im Mention du roi Tha'rān Ayfa' Ⅱ ('Abadān 1) Mention du roi Dhamar'alī Ayfa' ('Abadān 1)	
Vers 340-345			
juillet 360	470 him.	Tha'rān Yuhan'im + fils Malkīkarib (Yuha'min) TL Ja 669 Ja 670 Ja 671+788	Épidémie à Zafār Rupture et réparation de la Digue
[365-375]			
[375-400]		Malkīkarib Yuha'min TL Malkīkarib Yuha'min + fils Abīkarib As'ad et Dhara'amar Ayman Ⅱ TL Garb Bayt al-Ashwal 2; RES 3383 Ja 856=Fa 60	1 ^{ères} inscriptions royales monothéistes Construction d'un mkrb à Marib
janvier 384	493 him.		

Synchronismes:

1. Laffa'athat Yashū' b. Mirḥāb^{um}, auteur de Ir 30 (roi: Shammar Yuhar'ish TL) et 31 (roi: Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr TL)
2. Sa'adta'lab Yatlaf b. Gadan^{um}, auteur de Ja 665 (rois: Yāsir^{um} Yuhan'im et son fils Dhara''amar Ayman) et Ir 32 (roi: Dhamar'alī Yuhabirr).

En caractères romains, les données factuelles; en caractères italiques, les hypothèses.

جَمِيز في القرن الرابع الميلادي - تحليل البيانات التاريخية ومحاولة ترتيبها

كريستيان جوليان روبان

(Christian Julien Robin)

للخلاصة:

تبدأ الفترة المدروسة هنا بغزو حضرموت وتنتهي بالقضاء على تعدد الآلهة. وثمة صعوبات جادة تظهر عند إعادة الترتيب الزمني - وبعبارة أفضل: توالي فترات الحكم - ، كما تبين ذلك المحاولات غير المثمرة لكل من أ. جام (A. Jamme)، وك. أ. كيتشن (K. A. Kitchen). وقد تلاشت هذه الصعوبات جزئيا من خلال المعلومات التاريخية لنقش عبدان 1.

يحاول البحث أن يبين أنه لا زال ممكنا أن نرتب عهود جميع الحكام وأن نعين لهم بيانات تقريبية ؛ ونقتصر للشكوك الباقية على بعض من شاركوا في الحكم لفترة قصيرة.

بعدها قمنا بعملية جرد المصادر التي في متناول الأيدي كي نحدد تسلسل فترات الحكم ، نقوم الدراسة بتحليل ثلاث حلقات من الحوادث تحليلا دقيقا تمكنا أفضل تمكين من أن نفهم تاريخ الفترة وأن نربط أحداثا محددة ربطا زمنيا: ونعني بذلك الحربين بين حمير وحضرموت والغزوات التي قام بها آل ذي النيزن لصالح ملوك حمير كما هو مذكور في نقش عبدان 1.

ويتوصل البحث إلى اقتراح جديد حول تعاقب الحكام يختلف كثيرا عن التسلسل الزمني الذي ذكره ك. أ. كيتشن.

THE FAÇADE OF MONUMENTAL TOMBS AND TEMPLES IN COMPARISON

In spring 1997 the German Institute of Archaeology started the exploration of the Awām cemetery that encloses the temple to the south and west¹.

A small part of the site was excavated by the American Foundation for the Study of Man expedition in 1951 until 1952. Work focussed mainly on the exploration of the Awām Temple, as well as on the so called mausoleum directly east of the oval wall, which is clearly different from the other excavated tombs. Its four pillars with capitals surrounded by limestone walls are arranged in a square formation and supported a roof. And the so called south tombs about 100 m further south were also excavated. They were built either individually or in very small blocks, faced with limestone along the street sides. The east-west street separates the tombs into a northern and a southern row².

In the first three seasons of the German mission 40 tombs in two different areas, labelled Area A and Area B, were unearthed. During the next two seasons another 20 tombs were excavated in Area B, E and F. Until now about one twentieth of the alleged cemetery surface has been studied through excavation. Very little can be said about the general layout of the necropolis, just according to geophysical prospections³ and excavations the streets followed an orthogonal road network (Fig. 1).

Unlike the above mentioned tombs are the burial monuments in Area A, where the singular buildings were planned and erected in a very economical way. Only the visible parts of the tombs were faced with limestone ashlar. The remaining masonry consists of basalt. These are very simple rectangular multi-storied tower-like buildings (Fig. 2).

Another type was found in Area B: Pyramidal graded rectangular buildings with a podium. In

Area F such buildings without a podium were excavated.

Since 2000, a new type of monumental tomb has been unearthed, represented here by tomb 29. The building is divided into a substructure and a pyramidal graded superstructure. The north façade, which is 8.6 m long, is fronted by a podium, which supported a five-pillared portico. The podium consists of eleven limestone courses of varying heights set on a 14 cm high cordon pedestal. Two-way staircases situated on both sides of the podium lead to the five-pillared portico. Two pillar fragments are still in situ, with a rectangular cross-

Sources of illustrations: Fig. 1: H. Hitgen – I. Gerlach – N. Röring after R. Le Baron Bowen – F. P. Albright (ed.), *PAFSM* 2 (1958) 153. – All others: made by the author. A detailed article by the author about the architectural work at the Awām cemetery from 1997 until 2000 was published in: *ABADY* 9 (2002) 93–115.

¹ H. Hitgen, *Die sabäische Totenstadt am 'Almaqah-Tempel von Awām in Marib*, in: *Jemen. Kunst und Archäologie im Land der Königin von Saba*, exhibition cat. Vienna (1998) 247 ff.; idem, *The 1997 Excavations of the German Institute of Archaeology at the Cemetery of Awām in Marib*, *PSAS* 28, 1998, 117 ff.; I. Gerlach – H. Hitgen, *Eine Totenstadt am Rande der Wüste. Der Friedhof des sabäischen Awām-Heiligtums in Marib/Jemen*, in: *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* (ed.), *Die Forschungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts im 20. Jahrhundert* (2000); I. Gerlach, *Die Grabungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Sana'a im sabäischen Friedhof des Awām-Tempels in Marib*, in: *Im Land der Königin von Saba*, exhibition cat. Munich (2000) 113 ff.

² F. P. Albright, *Excavations at Marib in Yemen*, in: R. Le-Baron Bowen – F. P. Albright (ed.), *Archaeological Discoveries in South Arabia*, *PAFSM* 2 (1958) 215 ff. 235 ff.

³ J. W. E. Fassbinder – H. Becker – I. Gerlach, *Magnetometry in the Cemetery and the Awām-Temple in Marib, the Capital of the Queen Saba, Yemen*, in: *Archaeological Prospection, Arbeitshefte des Bayerischen Landesamtes für Denkmalpflege* 108, 1999, 161 ff.

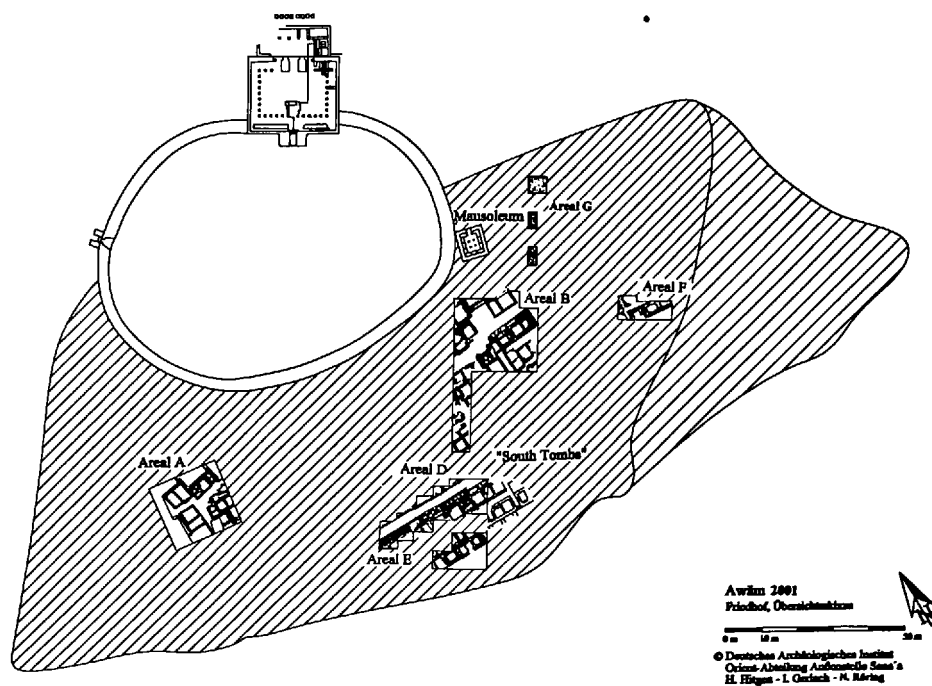


Fig. 1 Awām, cemetery, sketch plan

section of 34 cm by 45 cm. The narrow sides point to the street. The pillars are set in rectangular frogs of 35 cm by 46 cm and with the depth of 1 or 2 cm. The intercolumnia equal exactly the length of two and a half narrow sides thus approaching the ›Vitruvian‹ intercolumniation between an eustyle (factor two and a quarter) and the diastyle with factor three⁴.

The string wall of the lateral stairs are capped with a tegula panel with one monolithic covering slab on top of each side. The tegula frieze consists of two ashlars; the joint is set in the space between the dentils and thus lies invisibly in the shadow (Fig. 3).

The idea of the design principle of a podium-monument is quite often found in the sacred architecture of South Arabia. For example the temple of Dhāt Himyam, dhāt Raḥbān, and also the temple of Sayyīn dhū-Mayfaʿān⁵. Both were erected on a podium and accessible by two lateral stairs. Or as we can find it at the Barʿān Temple in Marib where the monumental stairs lead to the propylon platform. The string walls of the Barʿān monumental

stairs are also capped with a tegula panel like the ones from tomb 29.

Another very typical technical element in South Arabian architecture are the long, finger-like postaments. They are plinths and at the same time stone-beam heads slightly projecting from the façade. These beams are interlocked with the construction situated behind them and flush with the stone slabs of the podium pavement.

The postaments are supplied with 1 or 2 cm deep rectangular frogs. A doweling for the pillars to prevent a horizontal moving of architectural components was not necessary. Similar examples have also been noticed in the highlands of Yemen such as the temple in Nāʿiḥ⁶, which demonstrates that the frontal orientation of the narrow sides of

⁴ B. Wyss (ed.), *Vitruv, Baukunst I, Bücher I–V* (1995) 123 ff.

⁵ A. V. Sedov – A. Bātāyi, *Temples of Ancient Hadramawt*, PSAS 24, 1994, 195 f.

⁶ M. Jung, *The Religious Monuments of Ancient Southern Arabia. A Preliminary Typological Classification*, AION 48, 1988, 177–218 pl. 9.

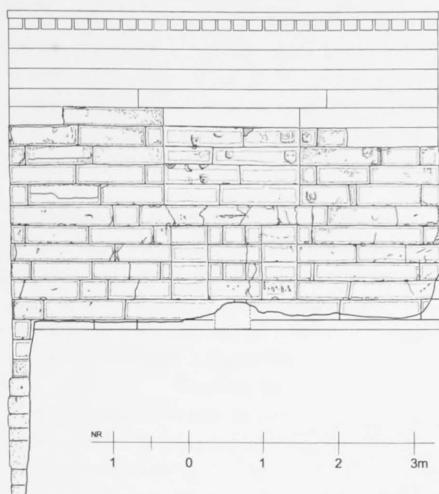


Fig. 2 Tomb 1, reconstructed south view

the pillars is very typical for this type of architecture and that this can be used as a measurement for the ratio of cross-section to height.

In Marib, both the pillars of the Bar'ān Temple and of the Awām Temple have a ratio of 1 to 11⁷. The same ratio is adoptable for the reconstruction of the façade of tomb 29. With that I calculated an original height of 3.74 m based on width of pillar of 34 cm. The pillars supported an architrave of a single stone lintel such as the one of the temple of 'Athtar in Ma'in⁸ or on the portico of the Almaqah Temple in Masā'id⁹. Here the height of the architraves corresponds to the width of the pillars.

At tomb 29 only a few fragments of the tegula panels and a fragment of a stone beam were found during the excavation, which I assign to the entablature of the portico. Consequently, the architrave was topped by large raised tegula panels capped with a simple band which in turn supported the projecting heads of the five stone-beams. The latter connect the portico with the tomb.

Unlike the horizontal division of the substructure the superstructure has a vertical pattern. Incised lines on the in situ masonry of the superstructure indicate the former position of the upper stone courses and also provide an idea of the architectural structure of the building. The center of the tomb façade is occupied by a risalit like projection. The courses of the ashlar masonry on either side of projection have been recessed to different degrees.

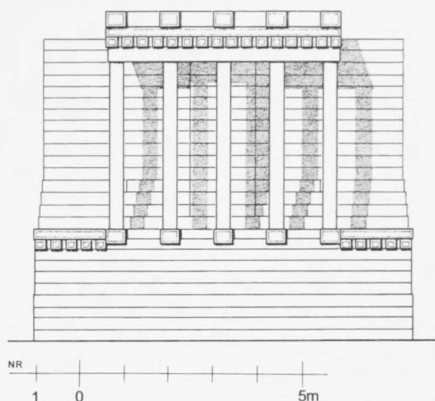


Fig. 3 Tomb 29, tentative reconstruction of the north façade

Thus the façade is divided into different zones, the interaction of light and shadow and the proportions help to create a mock façade which bears close resemblance to a small temple (Fig. 4).

Additionally, the axial symmetrical structure of tomb 29, the schematic organisation of the stone ashlar courses, the incised lines on the architectural components as well as the reconstructed height of the pillars suggest an intentionally reduced conception which is based on specific architectural modules. To reconstruct the façade of the tomb, its original proportion system was to be studied and understood. The podium can be divided into three squares, while the superstructure consists of two squares. The portico forms one big square. With this suggestion of reconstruction the ratio of the substructure to the superstructure is 2:3, that of the substructure to the portico 4:2, and the ratio of the portico to the superstructure is 4:3. The basic module is a square of 1.45 m by 1.45 m.

The building has a clear architectural language. The design principles are oriented to traditional architectural forms, primarily to the temple-architecture. Pillars and beams are only rectangular monoliths, while decoration is reduced to dentil and

⁷ Albright 2 op. cit. 215 ff.

⁸ Jemen. Kunst und Archäologie im Land der Königin von Saba, exhibition cat. Vienna (1998) 210 fig.

⁹ J. Schmidt, Tempel und Heiligtümer in Südarabien. Zu den materiellen und formalen Strukturen der Sakralbaukunst, NBA 14 (1997/98) 18.

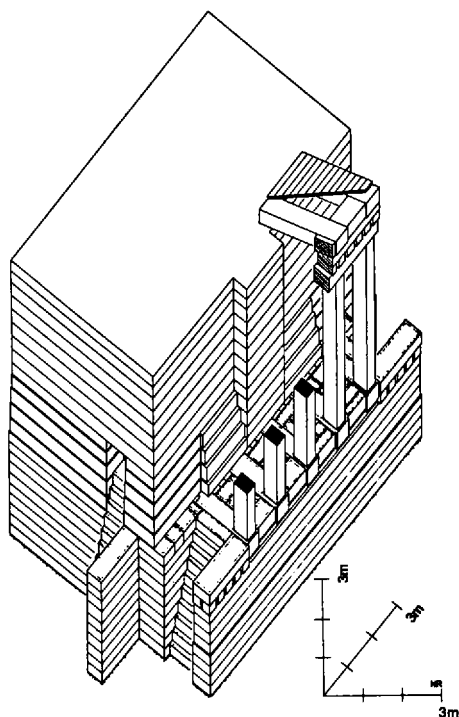


Fig. 4 Tomb 29, axonometric reconstruction

tegulae motives for crowns and cornices. The construction and the purist ascesis of the architectural vocabulary is enhanced by the aesthetic effect of the polished stone surfaces – an effect that apparently was given special emphasis. The stone-treatment and setting is very exact and of a high-precision technique. The blocks were laid without mortar and no clamps were used to bind the stones together. The facing is made of neatly cut limestone ashlar. All joints, both horizontal and vertical, were drafted with a flat chisel, creating 4–5 cm broad, fine polished margins around each block and a fine pecked center. Also the horizontal and vertical sides of the stones were created with 2–4 cm broad, smoothed anathyroses to get a nearly invisible joint pattern.

All above observations suggest, not only a highly advanced craftsmanship in the treatment and handling of the materials, but also a master-ship in conception and geometric proportioning. Highly skilled specialists must have existed, both in the field of planning and execution. This type of

monumental tomb is the expression of the self-projection of high ranking individuals of the sabaean society. With its five-pillared portico it gives an impression of a small temple. The portico constitutes in each case a space of its own between the privacy of the tomb or temple and the public space.

However, this is so far not very common in South Arabian sacred-architecture, where we usually find an even number of pillars. The only exception that comes to my mind is the five-pillared portico of a smaller temple at Širwāḥ, next to the famous temple of Almaqah, a monument that was reported by Achmed Fakhry¹⁰.

The tomb 29 findings and decorative elements do not suggest clearly distinguishable construction stages during the time of construction. A later modification of the structure took place when tomb 33 was built immediately to the west. It blocked the access to the westerly staircase of tomb 29, the string wall of which was destroyed during this process and converted into a staircase. The first step was made from a limestone-fragment on a higher level and perpendicularly to the podium. It also indicates that the new street level was about 70 cm higher because of the accumulation of irrigation Aeolian sand (Fig. 5).

Tomb 33 is a monumental building with a façade totally different from all the other tombs in the cemetery. It is a rectangular building with a podium in front of it. The podium was accessible from the north by a staircase fitted axially into the podium. From its landing and ascending two pairs of steps both, the eastern and the western half of the podium could be reached. From here two entrances led into the chambers. With a length of 10.5 m it is the largest tomb we excavated until now. Because of its size, its symmetric elevation and its setting tomb 33 was apparently erected for very important persons. Obviously it was very important to the owner to build this tomb on this location, squeezing it into the gap between tombs 29 and 51 and – at the same time – ignoring the westerly access to tomb 29.

The podium was enclosed by something like a balustrade. It is absolutely sure that the podium was not roofed, because there are no traces of any

¹⁰ A. Fakhry, *An Archaeological Journey to Yemen* (1952) part I 47, part III pl. X A.

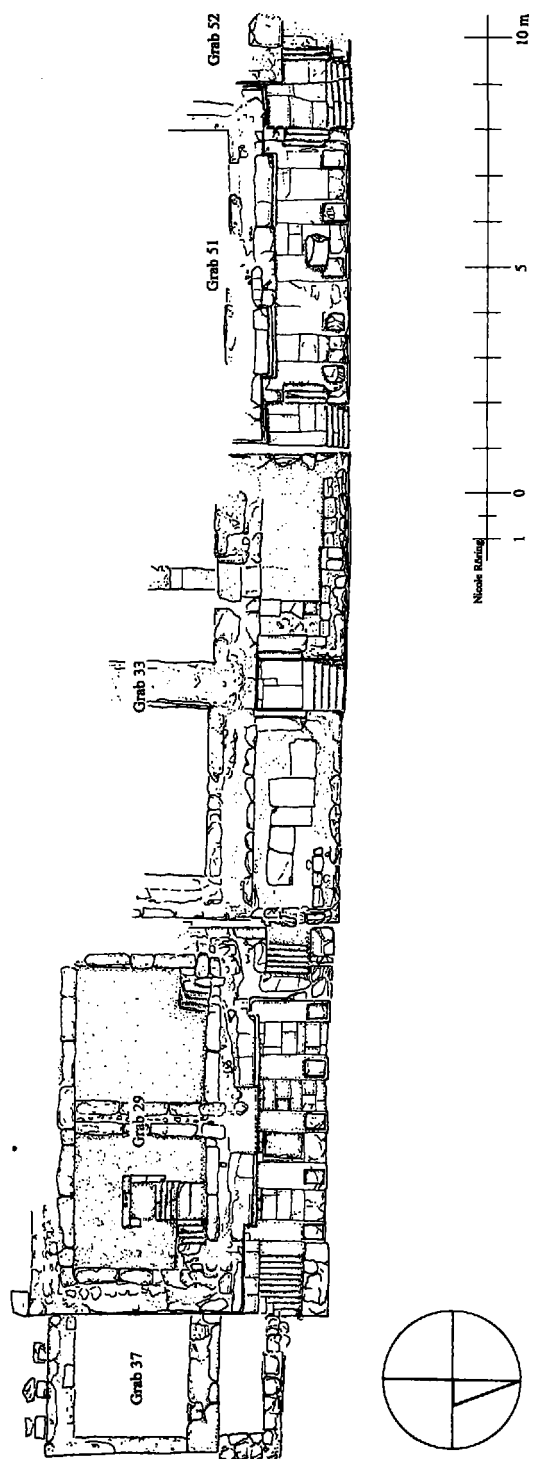


Fig. 5 Plan of the monumental tombs

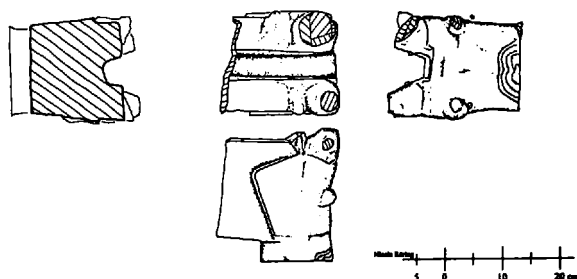


Fig. 6 Bull-headed gutter

constructions for pillars. At the same time the podium was drained by a bull-headed gutter, of which a fragment has survived in situ; further gutter-fragments of varying size were found in the debris in front of the tomb. Therefore we may assume that both, the podium and the roof of the superstructure of tomb 33 were furnished with these gutters (Fig. 6).

Of great interest are the findings at tomb 51, which is also a monumental tomb with a substructure and a superstructure connected to another five-pillared portico on a podium. In general it replicates the order of the tomb 29 façade. Some differences, however, can be noticed: First of all, tomb 51 is 8.15 m long and therefore a little bit smaller than tomb 29. Similar to tomb 33 it is accessible from the north. Two bend staircases at either end of the podium grant access to the five-pillared portico. Further on, the pillars are bigger and the intercolumnia are only twice as wide as the width of the pillars. The portico was definitely higher than the one of tomb 29. The neighbouring monument, tomb 52, of which only a small part with the staircase was unearthed, seems to be very similar to tomb 51. Probably the two tombs used the same staircase.

Tombs 33, 51 and 52 shared with tomb 29 the same high quality execution of the limestone masonry: the surface of the ashlar is finely pecked and the margins are drafted with a flat chisel. Along the same line and within the unexcavated area further monumental tombs of these types can be expected.

The tombs of the Awām necropolis are an outstanding example of sabaean mortuary architecture. Much effort, time and wealth were invested into their construction in a way that is well compa-

table with the contemporary funerary monuments of the classical mediterranean cultures.

On the one hand we have tombs with façades which look like residential buildings. On the other hand there are tombs replicating monumental buildings of public or representative function. To sum up, at least, three types of tombs can be noticed in the Awām necropolis:

1. The simple tower-like tombs,
2. Tombs with pyramidal graded superstructure,
3. Monumental tombs with portico.

The types are typified by a general framework within which enough variability is permitted to express the individual status and requirements of the owner.

The old-south-arabian order of plinth, pillar and cornice as a long living architectural design principle was considered a characteristic element of the classical temple architecture. All the examples show that you can find this architectural order in minean, qatabanian and hadrami architecture as well as in the sabaean architecture. The impact of the sabaean architecture appeared across most of the South Arabian provinces, forms however parochial or vernacular, distinguished in their differences of proportions or their decorations of pillars with carvings. They are schematically and purposively just the same. Until now it is very difficult to make some chronologies because the architecture is fixed over many centuries in a traditional style.

It is indisputable that they used details and orders from the temple-architecture in a smaller scale like the pillared portico, which was an unavoidable architectural symbol of south Arabian civilisation, now no longer reserved to temples. Therefore, the architectural concept of tombs 29 and 51 lies in the highly contrastive juxtaposition of the closed,

cubic structure of the grave chambers and the filigreed detailing of the slender pillars in front of it.

In case of the tombs, however, the architectural form can be classified with the social type. This splendid architecture of the monumental tombs speaks powerfully of civic pride and civilized community while providing palatial backdrops for ordinary activities.

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• واجهات المقابر الأثرية والمعابد ومقارنة بينها

نيكول رورنج

(Nicole Röring)

ملخص:

في ربيع سنة 1997 بدأ المعهد الألماني للآثار استكشاف مقبرة أوام التي تحيط بالمعبد من الجهة الجنوبية والغربية. فتم للكشف 40 مقبرة في منطقتين مختلفتين يطلق عليهما (Area A) و (Area B)، وذلك في المواسم الثلاثة الأولى لبعثة المعهد. وخلال الموسمين التاليين اكتشفت عشرون مقبرة أخرى في المنطقة B و E و F.

تم تخطيط وبناء المقابر الأثرية في المنطقة A بطريقة اقتصادية جدا. وقد تم طلاء الأجزاء الخارجية بطبقة من الطوب الطري، وتتكون أعمال النحت الباقية من البازلت. وهي بنايات بسيطة جدا تشبه المحافد متعددة الطوابق ومستطيلة الشكل. وهناك طراز آخر عثر عليه في المنطقة B: بنايات مستطيلة الشكل هرمية مدرجة ذات منصات عالية. وفي المنطقة F اكتشفت بنايات بلا منصات.

ومنذ 1999 يتم الكشف عن مقبرة أثرية من نوع جديد ممثلة هنا بالمقبرة رقم 29. والبناء مقسم إلى أساس وبنية فوقية هرمية مدرجة. والواجهة الشمالية أمامها منصة مدعمة برواق ذي خمسة أعمدة. ويغلب وجود فكرة تصميم الأثر ذي المنصة في نور العبادة بجنوب بلاد العرب. وهناك عنصر فني أصيل جدا آخر في هندسة العمارة بجنوب بلاد العرب وهو القواعد المشابهة الأصابع التي شيدت عليها الأعمدة الخمسة. ويؤدي السلطان المزودجان الواقعان على جانبي المنصة إلى الرواق ذي الأعمدة الخمسة. وتطل الجوانب الضيقة للأعمدة تجاه الشارع وهي أصيلة جدا بالنسبة لهذا الطراز المعماري ويمكن أن تستخدم في قياس نسبة العرض إلى الارتفاع.

في مارب تبلغ نسبة عرض كلا العمودين بمعبد برن ومعبد أوام إلى ارتفاعهما 1:1.1. ونفس هذه النسبة يمكن تبنيها للشكل الافتراضي لواجهة مقبرة رقم 29، مع مراعاة أنني حسب ارتفاعها أصليا قدره 3,74 مترا قائم على عرض قدره 34 سم. وتقوم مبادئ التصميم على أشكال معمارية تقليدية، وخاصة على عمارة المعابد. وإضافة إلى ذلك فإن البنية المتماثلة المحورية للمقبرة 29، والنظام التخطيطي لطبقات الطوب الطري، والأحجار المرصوفة على الأجزاء المعمارية وكذلك الارتفاع الافتراضي للأعمدة يشير إلى تصور مبسط يقوم على وحدات معمارية مميزة.

هذا النوع من المقابر الأثرية هو تعبير عن التصوير الشخصي لأفراد من المجتمع السبئي ذوي رتب عالية. وهو يعطي انطباعا عن المعبد الصغير. ويشتمل الرواق في كل حال على قاعة بين المجال الخاص بالمقبر أو المعبد والمجال العام. وهناك مقابر ذات واجهات تشبه المباني السكنية من ناحية ومقابر تمثل بنايات ضخمة لها وظيفة عامة أو استعراضية. وباختصار يمكننا أن نذكر ثلاثة أنواع من المقابر في مدائن أوام:

1) مقابر بسيطة تشبه المحافد

2) مقابر ذات بنية فوقية هرمية مدرجة

3) مقابر ضخمة ذات رواق.

هذه العمارة الرائعة للمقابر الأثرية تتلحق بقوة وعظمة المدنية والمجتمع المتحضر وتقدم خلفيات عظيمة للنشاطات العادية.

ḤAḌRAMAWT COINAGE: ITS SEQUENCE AND CHRONOLOGY

The settlements of Bi'r 'Alī (ancient *Qāni*) and Khōr Rōrī (ancient *Sumburam*) are the rarest examples of continuously excavated South Arabian pre-Islamic monuments that provide scholars with stratified numismatic finds. The importance of such kind of material could hardly be overestimated: in addition to the new data on political and economic history of the ancient South Arabian kingdoms, it allows us to date archaeological strata more precisely. But there are several difficulties in interpretation of the results of the studies, and the most important are the vagueness of the absolute chronology of South Arabian coinage and uncertainty of the sequence of distinguished series.

The absolute chronology of South Arabian coinage is the most disputed question. For the first series, which are imitations of Athenian tetradrachms with the head of Athena on the obverse and standing owl on the reverse, there is, at least, the terminus post quem, but dating of the series with local iconography is very uncertain. There are no dates or other chronological indicators in the coin legends. There are very few iconographical features that can be compared with the elements of Hellenistic or Roman coinage with well established chronology. There are no coin hoards from South Arabia that contain dated foreign series in addition to the local ones. The names of the rulers, who issued South Arabian coins, when they do occur, are very rare, and it is difficult to correlate them with the rulers attested in South Arabian inscriptions. Thus, the only means of arriving at an approximate absolute chronology of South Arabian series is with the aid of archaeology.

The Russian excavations at Bi'r 'Alī settlement (ancient *Qāni*) recovered a bulk of different Ḥaḍramawt, Sabaeen and Ḥimyarite series (see Table 1) in the strata, which could be assigned to the three

main archaeological periods. The periods are dated by the presence of imported pottery, mainly of Mediterranean origin, and by other chronologically sensitive archaeological material¹. Thus, we have now the possibility to determine a general chronological framework for a number of the South Arabian coinages, particularly for Ḥaḍramawt, late Sabaeen and late Ḥimyarite series. But there are again at least two big difficulties which don't allow us to use this method precisely: 1. the wide range giving by the archaeological dating, and 2. the fact that according to the finds from controlled excavations the custom to withdraw old coins from circulation whenever new ones have been introduced was apparently not practised in ancient Yemen. But in anyway, based on the results of our archaeological investigations, we can solve, or at least try to solve these problems.

The typological sequence of the Ḥaḍramawt coinage was built on the material from museum col-

Sources of illustrations: Fig. 1, 10: S. C. H. Munro-Hay, *The Coinage of Shabwa (Hadramawt), and other Ancient South Arabian Coinage in the National Museum, Aden* (1991) 398 fig. 1. – All others are made by the author.

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¹ Cf. A. V. Sedov, *New Archaeological and Epigraphical Material from Qana (South Arabia)*, AAE 3 no. 2, 1992, 110–137; idem, *Qana' (Yemen) and the Indian Ocean. Archaeological Evidence*, in: H. P. Ray – J.-F. Salles (eds.), *Tradition and Archaeology. Early Maritime Contacts in the Indian Ocean*, Proceedings of the International Seminar »Techno-Archaeological Perspectives of Seafaring in the Indian Ocean, 4th cent. B.C. – 15th cent. A.D.« New Delhi 1994 (1996) 1–35.

SERIES (TYPES)	NUMBER OF PIECES							TOTAL
	SURFACE	AREA 1	AREA 2	AREA 3	AREA 4	AREA 5	AREA 6	
Ḥaḍramawt, series 'head/owl' (type 1.2)	1			1			6	8 (1.0%)
Ḥaḍramawt, series 'head/owl' (type 2.1)							1	1 (0.1%)
Ḥaḍramawt, series 'radiated head/winged caduceus' (type 3)	2		3	5	2		6	20 (2.8%)
Ḥaḍramawt, series 'head/eagle' (type 4)	6			2	3		15	26 (3.4%)
Ḥaḍramawt, series 'radiated head/bull' (type 5.2)					1			1 (0.1%)
Ḥaḍramawt, series 's ² qr/bull' (type 8.1)	2				3			5 (0.7%)
Ḥaḍramawt, series 'radiated head/bull' (type 5.3)	1	1		16	2		19	39 (5.2%)
Ḥaḍramawt, series 'head/bull' (type 6.1)			2	7	2		11	22 (2.9%)
Ḥaḍramawt, series 'head/bull' (type 6.2)				1				1 (0.1%)
Ḥaḍramawt, series 'head/bull's head' (type 7.1)				1	2			3 (0.4%)
Ḥaḍramawt, series 's ² qr/ bull's head' (type 10)	38		47	84	80	2	91	342 (45.3%)
Unidentified, Ḥaḍramawt coinage?	1	1			3		29	34 (4.5%)
Saba', series with <i>bucranium</i>	1			2	7		13	23 (3.0%)
Ḥimyar, series with two heads			1				3	4 (0.5%)
Late Ḥimyar, series with <i>bucranium</i>	13		11	69	8		56	157 (20.8%)
Unidentified, late Ḥimyarite coinage?	14		4	39			8	65 (8.6%)
Aksumite coinage	2					1		3 (0.4%)
Eastern Arabian coinage							1	1 (0.1%)
Unidentified, foreign coinage					1			1 (0.1%)
TOTAL	81 (10.8%)	2 (0.2%)	68 (9.0%)	227 (30.4%)	114 (15.1%)	3 (0.4%)	259 (34.3%)	756 (100.0%)

Table 1 Distribution of the coins' finds at Bi'r 'Alī settlement (ancient Qānī')

lections, mostly from the museums in al-Mukallā and Say'un².

Like in other South Arabian kingdoms the first coins minted and circulated in Ḥaḍramawt were imitations of Athenian tetradrachms of the so-called old style (series ›Athena's head/owl‹; types 1.1 and 1.2; Fig. 1, 1)³. Attic coins from the time of Philip II and Alexander the Great and/or their ›oriental imitations‹ were used as models for such mintage. Imitations were struck in silver and bronze in several denominations following, probably, the local weight standard with the highest denomination close to 5.6 g. Different Ḥaḍrami letters were placed on the Athena's cheek to distinguish coin values of a whole, half, quarter and one eighth denominations. Doubtless that the bronze coins were struck using the same dies as for silver pieces.

It seems, that the early Ḥaḍramawt imitations were minted quite a long period of time: while the earliest samples showed very accurate legend and faithful style of image, comparable to the foreign models, the later issues bore images with various degrees of debasement in legend and representations until one could barely recognize a head on the obverse and a crude outline of the owl with traces of the first and last letters of a pseudo-Greek legend on the reverse.

Coins with Athena's head and owl were replaced in Ḥaḍramawt by the other series which obverse bore a male (?) head facing to the right instead of the head of the Greek goddess (series ›head/owl‹; types 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3; Fig. 1, 2). The head was adorned with something similar to triangles or triangular rays: apparently the image was derived from the head of Athena wearing a helmet adorned with olive leaves. Its reverse still showed an owl standing to the left or right, head facing, but a pseudo-Greek legend was replaced by the Ḥaḍrami one or by a monogram representing the name ʔʔ = s²qr, the name of the royal residence in Shabwa, and denoting, most probably, the royal mint located in the capital as well. Such coins were struck only in bronze on uneven, often triangular rather thick (4.5–8.0 mm) flans, about 10 × 12 mm in size. Their weights were irregular, roughly from 2.0 to 4.5 g, representing, probably, one denomination: traces of the value-mark in form of South Arabian letter ʔ = n (reversed) are preserved on the obverse of several known pieces.

The obverse of the next series of Ḥaḍramawt coinage bore a radiated male (?) head facing to the right, while the reverse showed a winged caduceus accompanied with the name ʔʔ = s²qr (vertical legend on the right) and monogram on the left (series ›radiated head/winged caduceus‹; type 3; Fig. 1, 3). Coins were struck on uneven rather thick (3–5.5 mm) flans, 10–11 mm in diameter or 10–13 × 11–14 mm in size, very similar to the flans of the previous imitative series. Their weights were irregular, from 1.60 to 3.15 g; die-axis was unstable.

Following the suggestion of Ch. J. Robin⁴, the monogram on the reverse could be deciphered as the name of Sumhuram (s²mhrm). This possible reading could be interpreted in two ways: 1. as a part of the name of Ḥaḍrami ruler who struck the coins, or 2. as a mint-name. In the first case we can suppose that during a certain period in the late 1st century B.C. Ḥaḍramawt was under the rule of a certain Sumhuram who for some reasons was not mentioned in the known inscriptions⁵. Following the second interpretation we have to come to the conclusion that series with winged caduceus on the reverse was a provincial coinage minted not in the capital but, for instance, in Sumhuram, the Ḥaḍrami daughter-city on the coast of Dhofar⁶. They were circulated, according to the finds, all over the territory of the ancient kingdom.

Typologically coins with caduceus were a continuation of imitative series with owl on the reverse: 1. they were struck on similar irregular and rather thick flans; 2. the radiated head on the obverse could be considered as the next and, probably, the final phase of derivative image of Athena

² Cf. A. V. Sedov – 'U. 'Aydarus, *The Coinage of Ancient Ḥaḍramawt. The Pre-Islamic Coins in the al-Mukallā Museum*, AAE 6 no. 1, 1995, 15–60; A. V. Sedov, *Moneti drevnego Hadramauta (The Coinage of Ancient Ḥaḍramawt)* (1998).

³ ›Series a‹ according to the Hill's classification: G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia*, BMC Greek Coins 28 (1922) p. xlvii–xlvi.

⁴ Cf. Sedov – 'Aydarus op. cit. 44.

⁵ A certain Sum[hu]ram 'Alhā[n], *mukharrib* of Ḥaḍramawt is mentioned in the inscription 'Uqayba 5 carelessly engraved on the rock: J. Pirenne, *Les témoins écrits de la région de Shabwa et l'histoire* (1990) 53 f. – Palaeography of the text is very uncertain, which doesn't allow to date the inscription precisely. Could it be our Sumhuram?

⁶ F. P. Albright, *The American Archaeological Expedition in Dhofar, Oman, 1952–1953*, PAFSM VI (1982).

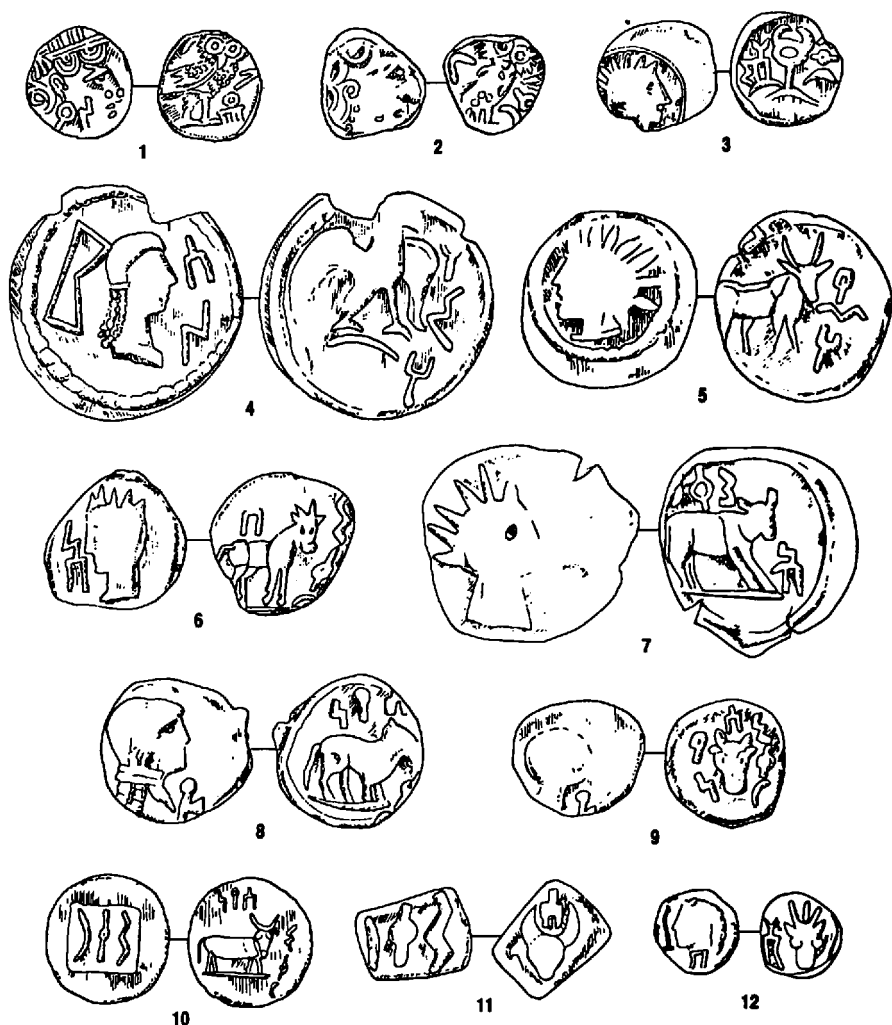


Fig. 1. Ḥaḍramawt and late Ḥimyarite coinage. 1. Series 'Athena's head/owl' (type 1.2; Dia 15 mm). – 2. Series 'head/owls' (type 2.1; Dia 11 mm). – 3. Series 'radiated head/winged caduceus' (type 3; Dia 11 mm). – 4. Series 'head/eagle' (type 4; Dia 44 mm). – 5. Series 'radiated head/bull' (type 5.1; Dia 20 mm). – 6. Series 'radiated head/bull' (type 5.2; Dia 12 mm). – 7. Series 'radiated head/bull' (type 5.3; Dia 19 mm). – 8. Series 'head/bull' (type 6.1; Dia 14 mm). – 9. Series 'head/bull's head' (type 7.1; Dia 12 mm). – 10. Series 's'qr/bull' (type 8.1; Dia unknown). – 11. Series 's'qr/bull's head' (type 10; size 11 × 12 mm). – 12. Series with *bucranium* (Dia 7 mm)

wearing a helmet adorned with olive leaves; 3. the style and place of legend *s'qr* on the reverse were absolutely identical on both series.

The next series of Ḥaḍramawt coinage is completely new. These are the well-known pieces with male head with hair in long ringlets facing to the

right (most probably, the portrait of the ruler), large letter *š = m* (reversed) and name of the 'federal' Ḥaḍramawt deity *ʿlḥ = s'yn* on the obverse, and an eagle with open wings (undoubtedly the manifestation of *s'yn*) and two names, *ʾš = s'qr* and *ʾšḥ = ys'h*, on the reverse (series 'head/eagle'; type 4;

Fig. 1, 4)⁷. Coins were cast in a mould (there are traces of cut mould-junctions practically on all pieces). They vary in size and weights, which presumably depended on the coins' value: ›large‹ (size 26 × 38 mm, weights from 87.8 to 11.7 g), ›medium‹ (size 21–23 × 24–26 mm, weights from 8.25 to 3.24 g), and ›small‹ (size 15–19 × 18–21 mm, weights from 2.6 to 0.75 g) denominations. Die-axis was constant – on 12.00 o'clock. There is evidence that at least some of the coins of this series were moulded not in bronze, but in billon⁸.

Some pieces, especially those of ›large‹ and ›medium‹ denominations, have clear images and legends. In contrast, the representations on the well-preserved coins of ›small‹ denomination are decomposed, sometimes completely. One can barely recognize the big letter *m* and something similar to a head on the obverse. The eagle on the reverse was converted into a kind of chicken and legends disappeared, sometimes completely. Such ›degradation‹ was, most probably, the result of poor technology, when errors successfully accumulated in new coin moulds.

There is a kind of common agreement that the Ḥaḍrami coins with eagle on the reverse were issued by Yashhur'il Yuhar'ish, son of Abiyaša', *mukarrib* of Ḥaḍramawt, attested in several inscriptions⁹. One of the legends on the reverse, *ys²h*, was usually interpreted as the first three letters, *Yash(a)h*, of his first name.

There is a unique coin from Shabwa in the collection of the al-Mukallā museum, which represented the beginning of a long typological line of the Ḥaḍramawt coinage. Its obverse bore a radiated male(?) head facing to the left within linear border, and reverse showed a bull standing to the right accompanied with legends *ʔḥḥ* = *s²[qr]* and *ʔḥḥ* = *ys²h* (series ›radiated head/bull‹; type 5.1; Fig. 1, 5). It seems quite probable that this coin was minted by the same ruler, namely Yashhur'il Yuhar'ish, son of Abiyaša', *mukarrib* of Ḥaḍramawt¹⁰.

The next type of the same series is coins with radiated head facing to the left accompanied with letter *ḥ* = *alef* in front of the face on the obverse, and a bull standing to the right accompanied with two legends, *ʔḥḥ* = *s²qr* and *ḥḥ* = *s'y²n*, on the reverse (series ›radiated head/bull‹; type 5.2; Fig. 1, 6). Iconographically the representations of these coins are rather close to the images on the obverse and

reverse of Yashhur'il Yuhar'ish coins, his series ›radiated head/bull‹ (type 5.1). Moreover, coins of both types were cast in a mould. Thus, we can assume that coins of our type 5.2 were issued by the immediate successor of the *mukarrib*, and the name of this successor was denoted by the letter *ḥ* = *alef* on the obverse (the name like 'Ilī'adh or 'Ilriyām).

The next type represents, probably, the typological end of the above mentioned series. The obverse of the coins bore a radiated male(?) head facing to the right accompanied with Ḥaḍrami letter *ḥ* = *s²*, while the reverse showed a bull standing on line to the right, head facing, horizontal legend *ʔḥḥ* = *s²qr* on top above the bull, and a monogram on bottom right (series ›radiated head/bull‹; type 5.3; Fig. 1, 7). The coins were struck on regular rather thick, sometimes slightly scyphate flans with bevelled edges, 19–22 mm in diameter. Their weights were irregular, roughly from 3.5 to 9.0 g. The letter on the obverse probably stands for the name *s'y²n*, the Ḥaḍrami ›federal‹ deity, and the monogram on the reverse could be deciphered as initial letters of the name started with *ʔḥḥ* = 'il-, again something like 'Ilī'adh or 'Ilriyām.

Usually the state of preservation of such coins is very poor (they are corroded, broken on edges, have a lot of cracks), but several pieces bear rather clear image and legend on the reverse. There is also a feature – small central conical cavity on one or two sides of the coins –, which helps to identify the type more or less precisely. The appearance of cavities was connected with coin-making technology existing in the Mediterranean coinage, specifically with the final process of manufacture of coin-blanks¹¹.

The other two series of the Ḥaḍramawt coinage are different from the previous one not only by iconography, but also by their size and weights as well: they are lighter and smaller. The obverse of

⁷ Cf. J. Walker, A New Type of South Arabian Coinage, NC 17, 1937, 260–279.

⁸ A. V. Sedov, Two South Arabian Coins from Mleiha, AAE 6 no. 1, 1995, 62–65.

⁹ Cf. Ch. J. Robin, Yashhur'il Yuhar'ish, fils d'Abiyaša', mukarrib du Ḥaḍramawt, Raydān 6, 1994, 101–111.

¹⁰ See Sedov – 'Aydarus op. cit. 21–23 cat. 19.

¹¹ Ibidem 47f.

the coins of one of the series bore a male head facing to the right with hair in long ringlets wearing a cap or a helmet, and a monogram or vertical legend $\text{𐤏𐤍} = s'yn$ in front of it; the reverse showed a bull standing to the right on line, the legend $\text{𐤏𐤍} = s'yn$ on top of it and, sometimes, the second vertical legend $\text{𐤏𐤍} = s'qr$ in front of the bull (series 'head/bull'; types 6.1 and 6.2; Fig. 1, 8). The coins of the other series had the same representation and monogram on the obverse, while the reverse bore a frontal bull's head accompanied with vertical legends $\text{𐤏𐤍} = s'yn$ and $\text{𐤏𐤍} = s'qr$ (series 'head/bull's head'; type 7.1; Fig. 1, 9). The monogram on the obverse of both series could be deciphered as initial letters of the name started with $\text{𐤏𐤍} = yd'$, something like *Yada'ṭl* or *Yada'āb*.

The other series of the coins bore the legend $\text{𐤏𐤍} = s'qr$ in a square frame on the obverse, and bull standing to the right on line, head facing, accompanied with horizontal legend $\text{𐤏𐤍} = s'yn$ on top and vertical legend $\text{𐤏𐤍} = s'qr$ on right on the reverse (series $s'qr$ /bull'; type 8.1; Fig. 1, 10). The coins of one more series bore big letters of legend $\text{𐤏𐤍} = s'qr$ on the obverse, and bull's head facing front with legend $\text{𐤏𐤍} = s'yn$ (letter $\text{𐤏} = s'$ on right, letter $\text{𐤍} = y$ on top between horns, and letter $\text{𐤏} = n$ on left) on the reverse (series $s'qr$ /bull's head'; type 10; Fig. 1, 11). The latter coins were struck on small, 8–10 × 8–10 mm in size, rather thick square, rectangular or oblong bronze flans, and represented the most numerous mintage of the Ḥaḍramawt coinage (for instance, at Bi'r 'Alī settlement, ancient *Qāni'*, they constituted 45.3 % of the total coins' finds).

These are, in brief, the typology and sequence of the Ḥaḍramawt series¹². Let's have now a close look at the possible absolute dating of coins, how it was determined from the stratigraphy of coins' finds at Bi'r 'Alī settlement (ancient *Qāni'*) and other Ḥaḍramawt monuments.

As it was noted already above, there is a terminus post quem for the early Ḥaḍramawt imitative series 'Athena's head/owl': the date of Attic originals minted during the time of Alexander the Great and his father. In other words, the imitative series couldn't appear in Ḥaḍramawt before the middle of the 4th century B.C. (as the earliest). On the other hand, we don't know precisely when the foreign originals reached the Ḥaḍramawt, and how long was the time span (several decades?) between this date and the time when the first imitative series

started to be minted by local rulers. We cannot exclude also the possibility, that the first coins minted in Ḥaḍramawt were 'imitations of imitations' and were struck, for instance, following the imitations of Athenian tetradrachms minted already in Palestine or even in the neighbouring Qatabān¹³, which dating is not certain in comparison with the pure Attic series. But in anyway, bearing in mind all these complications, we may assume, in my opinion, that the imitative Ḥaḍramawt coinage started roughly around the beginning of the second half of the 4th century B.C. The first issues were struck, probably, only in silver, but rather soon they were supplemented with bronze fractions. For several reasons it's very tempting to correlate the beginning of the Ḥaḍramawt coinage with the rule of Shahr 'Alhān, son of Yada'ṭl, king of Ḥaḍramawt (c. 360–345 B.C.), and his successors Yada'ṭl Bayān, son of Sumhuyafa' (c. 345–340 B.C.) and 'Ilsama' Dhū-Bayān, son of Malikkariḥ (c. 340–325 B.C.), known from the inscriptions RES 2778 = M 30 and RES 3869. It was the period when Ḥaḍramawt established the direct, via Ma'īn, trade connections with the Eastern Mediterranean countries.

How long were early Ḥaḍramawt imitations minted and circulated? Our excavations at Raybūn settlement in the Wadi Daw'ān provided us with a single coin find – the bronze coin of the series 'Athena's head/owl' with traces of pseudo-Greek legend on the reverse (type 1.2). The coin was found on the floor near the altar in the ruins of the temple of 'Athtarum/'Astarum dhāt Ḥaḍrān, located on the northern outskirts of the settlement. Apparently, the coin was a part of offering brought to the temple not long before its destruction, which took place, according to the Raybūn pottery sequence and series of radiocarbon dates, around the early 1st century B.C.¹⁴. Two bronze coins of the same

¹² On the other Ḥaḍrami coin types and series, which are not attested in the material from Bi'r 'Alī see: Sedov, Moneti drevnego Hadramauta op. cit. 21–146.

¹³ Cf. Y. M. 'Abdullah – A. O. Ghaleb – A. V. Sedov, Early Qatabānian Coinage: the aṣ-Ṣurayrah Coin Hoard, AAE 8 no. 2, 1997, 203–229.

¹⁴ Cf. A. V. Sedov, Le temple de 'Athtarum/'Astarum dhāt Ḥaḍrān: description archéologique, in: S. Frantsouzzoff, Raybūn. Ḥaḍrān, temple de la déesse 'Athtarum/'Astarum, IDIS V (2001) 28 f.

series (type 1.2) were found at Bi'r 'Alī settlement (ancient *Qāni*) on the floor of the earliest building excavated in the strata of the ›lower‹ (BA-I) period, which was destroyed close to the very early 1st century A.D. (see Table 2). Four additional pieces of the same series were found on the surface of the site and in its more recent strata (see Tables 1 and 4). Thus, the period of possible minting and, especially, circulation of the early Ḥaḍramawt imitative series ›Athena's head/owl‹ with pseudo-Greek legend on the reverse was obviously quite long – several hundred years. When they were replaced by the series ›head/owl‹ with Ḥaḍrami legend *ṣ²qr* on the reverse is not clear. Probably, it took place around the middle of the 2nd century B.C., but this is more a speculation than a statement, which needs confirmation by further studies. The finds from controlled excavations show that, like other Ḥaḍramawt series, the early imitations remained in circulation some time after the new series of the Ḥaḍramawt coinage were introduced into the market.

At Bi'r 'Alī settlement (ancient *Qāni*) three main periods were determined: ›lower‹ (BA-I) period dated between the early 1st and late 2nd centuries A.D.; ›middle‹ (BA-II) period dated between the late 2nd and 5th centuries A.D.; ›upper‹ (BA-III) period dated between the 6th and early 7th centuries A.D. Stratigraphically the ›middle‹ period can be divided into two phases: ›early‹ layers (late 2nd–3rd centuries A.D.) and ›late‹ layers (4th–5th centuries A.D.). In addition to the series of the early Ḥaḍramawt imitations, the strata of the ›early‹ (BA-I) period revealed six pieces of the series ›radiated head/winged caduceus‹ (type 3), eleven coins of Yashhur'il Yuhar'ish, son of Abīyaša', *mukarrib* of Ḥaḍramawt (his series ›head/eagle‹; type 4), forty three square coins of the series *ṣ²qr*/bull's head‹ (type 10), and single pieces of Sabaeen series with *bucranium*, Ḥimyarite series ›with two heads‹ and Eastern Arabian coin of the class XXXVIII according to D. T. Potts classification¹⁵ (see Table 2). Thus, we have now the first archaeological evidence that all above mentioned series must be dated within the absolute framework of the archaeological ›early‹ (BA-I) period of Bi'r 'Alī occupation, i. e. between the early 1st and late 2nd centuries A.D.¹⁶

Comparisons with the Eastern Mediterranean coinage may shed additional light on the possible dating of the Ḥaḍrami series with winged caduceus and eagle. The representation of caduceus on the

coins from Ḥaḍramawt is very similar, nearly identical to the winged caduceus on the reverse of bronze coins of the king Aminta struck in Galatia in 36–26 B.C.¹⁷ Most probably, the coins from Asia Minor gave terminus post quem for Ḥaḍramawt series with caduceus, although it's hard to imagine the direct borrowing of the image. Thus, we may assume that the coins with caduceus on the reverse were struck in the late 1st century B.C. – early 1st century A.D. by a certain Ḥaḍramawt ruler with the name of Sumhuram, but, according to stratigraphical finds from Bi'r 'Alī settlement (ancient *Qāni*), were remained in circulation during, at least, the entire 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.

J. Walker, following the suggestion of E. S. G. Robinson, compared the image on the reverse of the coins of Yashhur'il Yuhar'ish, son of Abīyaša', *mukarrib* of Ḥaḍramawt, his series ›head/eagle‹ (type 4), with representation of eagle on the issues of the Roman Emperors Trajan and Hadrian minted in Alexandria and Septimius Severus struck in Antioch. Such resemblance allowed him to date Ḥaḍramawt coinage around the early 2nd century A.D.¹⁸ In the recent numismatic literature there is a tendency to date those coins even later – close to the early 3rd century A.D.¹⁹ But such dating contradicts with stratigraphy of coins' finds on the ancient settlements, with attribution of the coinage to Yashhur'il Yuhar'ish, son of Abīyaša', *mukarrib* of Ḥaḍramawt, and with iconographical parallels. According to Ch. J. Robin, *mukarrib* ruled in the

¹⁵ D. T. Potts, *The Pre-Islamic Coinage of Eastern Arabia* (1971) 73.

¹⁶ Five coins of the Ḥaḍramawt series ›radiated head/bull‹ (type 5.3) were also found in the upper strata of the ›lower‹ (BA-I) period at the Area 6 (see Table 2), but their exact location indicates that it was a kind of late intrusion into the layers of the ›lower‹ period during, most probably, the constructional works, which took place later, in the ›middle‹ (BA-II) period of Bi'r 'Alī occupation.

¹⁷ Details see in Sedov, *Moneti drevnego Hadramauta* op. cit. (note 2) 70–75.

¹⁸ Walker op. cit. 264, 279.

¹⁹ G. Dembski, *The Coins of Arabia Felix*, in: W. Daum (ed.), *Yemen: 3000 Years of Art and Civilization in Arabia Felix*, exhibition cat. Munich (1987) 126–128; S. C. H. Munro-Hay, *The Coinage of Shabwa (Hadramawt)*, and other Ancient South Arabian Coinage in the National Museum, Aden, in: J.-F. Breton (ed.), *Fouilles de Shabwa II. Rapports préliminaires* (1992) 410.

SERIES (TYPES)	NUMBER OF PIECES		TOTAL
	AREA 4	AREA 6	
Ḥaḍramawt, series ›head/owl‹ (type 1.2)		2	2
Ḥaḍramawt, series ›head/owl‹ (type 2.1)		1	1
Ḥaḍramawt, series ›radiated head/winged caduceus‹ (type 3)	1	5	6
Ḥaḍramawt, series ›head/eagle‹ (type 4)		11	11
Ḥaḍramawt, series ›radiated head/bull‹ (type 5.3)		5	5
Ḥaḍramawt, series ›s ² qr/bull's head‹ (type 10)		43	43
Unidentified, Ḥaḍramawt coinage?		11	11
Saba', series with <i>bucranium</i>		1	1
Ḥimyar, series with two heads		1	1
Eastern Arabian coinage, class XXXVIII		1	1
TOTAL	1	81	82

Table 2 Distribution of coins in the layers of the 'lower' (BA-I) period at Bi'r 'Alī settlement (ancient *Qāni*)

SERIES (TYPES)	NUMBER OF PIECES				TOTAL
	AREA 2	AREA 3	AREA 5	AREA 6	
Ḥaḍramawt, series ›radiated head/winged caduceus‹ (type 3)		1			1
Ḥaḍramawt, series ›head/eagle‹ (type 4)		1			1
Ḥaḍramawt, series ›radiated head/bull‹ (type 5.3)		15			15
Ḥaḍramawt, series ›head/bull‹ (type 6.1)	1	4		1	6
Ḥaḍramawt, series ›head/bull‹ (type 6.2)		1			1
Ḥaḍramawt, series ›head/bull's head‹ (type 7.1)		1			1
Ḥaḍramawt, series ›s ² qr/bull's head‹ (type 10)	12		2	8	22
TOTAL	13	23	2	9	47

Table 3 Distribution of coins in the 'early' layers of the 'middle' (BA-II) period at Bi'r 'Alī settlement (ancient *Qāni*)

* SERIES (TYPES)	NUMBER OF PIECES					TOTAL
	AREA 2	AREA 3	AREA 4	AREA 5	AREA 6	
Ḥaḍramawt, series ›head/owl‹ (type 1.2)		1			4	5
Ḥaḍramawt, series ›radiated head/winged caduceus‹ (type 3)	3	4	1		3	11
Ḥaḍramawt, series ›head/eagle‹ (type 4)		1	3		4	8
Ḥaḍramawt, series ›radiated head/bull‹ (type 5.2)			1			1
Ḥaḍramawt, series ›s ² qr/bull‹ (type 8.1)			3			3
Ḥaḍramawt, series ›radiated head/bull‹ (type 5.3)		1	2		14	17
Ḥaḍramawt, series ›head/bull‹ (type 6.1)	1	3	2		10	16
Ḥaḍramawt, series ›head/bull's head‹ (type 7.1)			2			2
Ḥaḍramawt, series ›s ² qr/bull's head‹ (type 10)	35	84	80		40	239
Unidentified, Ḥaḍramawt coinage?			3		18	21
Saba', series with <i>bucranium</i>		2	7		12	21
Ḥimyar, series with two heads	1				2	3
Late Ḥimyar, series with <i>bucranium</i>	11	69	8		56	144
Unidentified, late Ḥimyarite coinage?	4	39			8	51
Aksumite coinage				1		1
Unidentified, foreign coinage			1			1
TOTAL	55	204	113	1	171	544

Table 4 Distribution of coins in the ›late‹ layers of the ›middle‹ (BA-II) period at Bi'r 'Alī settlement (ancient Qāni')

early 1st century A.D.²⁰. Stratigraphy of coins finds at Bi'r 'Alī settlement (ancient Qāni') confirmed in general the ›early‹ chronology: as was stated above eleven pieces of the series with eagle were found on the floors and immediately above them in the ruins of dwellings considered to be the earliest at the site

and dated close to the early 1st – mid 2nd centuries A.D. But again, like for other Ḥaḍramawt series, there is plenty of archaeological evidence that coins of the series ›head/eagle‹ (type 4) were re-

²⁰ Robin op.cit. 107–109.

maintained in circulation in Ḥaḍramawt in the 2nd, 3rd, and even in the early 4th centuries A.D. (see Tables 3 and 4). As we noted a few years ago, the representation of the eagle with open wings facing to the right on the coins of Nero minted in Antioch about 49 A.D. is very close to that found on the Ḥaḍramawt issues²¹.

The coins of the series ›radiated head/bull‹ (type 5.2) with letter *alef* on the obverse, which typologically were a continuation of the issues of Yashur'il Yuhar'ish, son of Abiyaša', *mukarrib* of Ḥaḍramawt, were tentatively attributed to his successor (see above). It seems likely that they represent the coinage of 'Ilī'adh Yaluṭ, son of Yada'īl, king of Ḥaḍramawt, attested in the texts from Khōr Rōrī (ancient *Sumburam*) and Shabwa, and, most probably, was mentioned in the ›Periplus Mare Erythraeum‹ as Eleazos, king of the ›frankincense-bearing land‹. His reign lasted probably into the third quarter of the 1st century A.D. At Bi'r 'Alī settlement (ancient *Qāni'*) the sole piece of such series was found at the Area 4 in the ›late‹ layers of the ›middle‹ (BA-II) period (see Table 4).

The appearance of the most common series of the ancient Ḥaḍramawt coinage – small square bronze coins with the name *s'qr* on the obverse, bull's head facing front and legend *s'yn* on the reverse (series ›s'qr/bull's head‹; type 10) – could also be associated with one of the Ḥaḍrami rulers of the 1st century A.D.: excavations at Bi'r 'Alī settlement revealed 43 pieces of such coins in the strata of the ›lower‹ (BA-I) period of the site (see Table 2). Finds of square coinage were reported from the region of Shabwa including the ruins of the ancient Ḥaḍramawt capital, from al-Barīra settlement in the Wadi Jirdān, from the ancient sites in the Wadi Ḥaḍramawt²². The strata of the ›middle‹ (BA-II) period of Bi'r 'Alī (ancient *Qāni'*) revealed 261 pieces of such coins, the biggest number in the total coins' finds (see Tables 3 and 4). As we can judge from this evidence, the square coins of the series ›s'qr/bull's head‹ (type 10) were minted and circulated in Ḥaḍramawt during at least four hundred years without any visible changes in their iconography.

The stratigraphy of coins' finds at Bi'r 'Alī settlement (ancient *Qāni'*) as well as tentative deciphering of the obverse and reverse monograms allowed us to associate several series found exclusively in the strata of the ›middle‹ (BA-II) period with Ḥaḍrami kings of the 3rd century A.D.

Thirty-two coins of the series ›radiated head/bull‹ (type 5.3) were found at the site in different areas in the strata of the ›middle‹ (BA-II) period (see Tables 3 and 4)²³. Its reverse bore the monogram consisting of two letters, which could be deciphered as initial letters of the name like 'Ilī'adh or 'Ilriyām. As we know from the inscriptions, the sole rulers of the 3rd century Ḥaḍramawt who bore such names were 'Ilī'adh Yaluṭ, son of 'Ammīdhakhar, king of Ḥaḍramawt (c. 200?–225? A.D.) and 'Ilriyām Yādūm, son of Yada'īl Bayān (c. 262?–275? A.D.)²⁴. 'Ilī'adh Yaluṭ, son of 'Ammīdhakhar, is the more famous of the two because of his alliance and then the war against the Sabaeans king Sha'irum 'Awtar. We know his name from numerous inscriptions, and know also that he was defeated in several battles by Sabaeans who finally carried him off as a prisoner to Marib²⁵. Thus, we can suggest that 'Ilī'adh Yaluṭ, son of 'Ammīdhakhar, king of Ḥaḍramawt, struck the coins belonging to our series ›radiated head/bull‹ (type 5.3).

The coins of the series ›head/bull‹ (type 6.1) and ›head/bull's head‹ (type 7.1) bore the monogram on the obverse, which could be deciphered as initial letters of the name like *Yada'īl* or *Yada'āb*. The numbers of finds of both series from Bi'r 'Alī excavations are 22 and 3 pieces accordingly (see Tables 3 and 4). According to epigraphic evidence there were several Ḥaḍrami kings of the 3rd century A.D. who bore such names: Yada'īl Bayān, son of Rabbīshams (c. 245?–260? A.D.); his brother Yada'āb Bayān (c. 260?–262? A.D.); Yada'āb Ghaylān, son of Yada'īl Bayān (c. 275?–285? A.D.), and possibly others²⁶. As was stated by A. Jamme, according to al-'Uqlah texts Yada'īl Bayān, son of Rabbīshams, was the successor of 'Ilī'adh Yaluṭ, son of 'Ammīdhakhar, and the

²¹ Cf. A. V. Sedov, AAE 3 no. 2, 1992, 124.

²² Cf. Sedov, *Moneti drevnego Hadramauta* op. cit. (note 2) 79.

²³ See also above, note 17.

²⁴ Cf. A. Jamme, *The Al-'Uqlah Texts, Documentation Sud-Arabe III* (1963) 13 f. (different dates); K. A. Kitchen, *Documentation for Ancient Arabia I. Chronological Framework and Historical Sources* (1994) 224 f.

²⁵ Cf. Ch. J. Robin, *Sheba dans les inscriptions d'Arabie du Sud*, in: *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* (1996) 1138.

²⁶ Cf. Jamme op. cit. 13 f.; Kitchen op. cit. 225 f.; Robin, *Sheba* op. cit. 1135 f.

founder of the new Ḥaḍramawt dynasty²⁷. It is very tempting to consider our series ›head/bull‹ (types 6.1) and ›head/bull's head‹ (type 7.1) as well as typologically close coins of the series ›head/bull‹ (type 6.2) as issues of Yada'il Bayān, son of Rab-bishams, and/or his successors.

Coins of the series ›sqr/bull‹ (type 8.1) are not numerous in the Bi'r 'Alī finds: only three pieces were found in the strata of the ›middle‹ (BA-II) period at the Area 4 and two more – on the surface of the site (see Tables 1 and 4). Probably, they represent the coinage of the Ḥaḍrami rulers of the 2nd century A.D.

It seems, that Ḥaḍramawt royal coinage came to the end around the last quarter of the 3rd century A.D., when Ḥimyarites conquered the kingdom. But undoubtedly the Ḥaḍrami coins continued to circulate on the territory of the former independent kingdom in the 4th and even in the early 5th centuries A.D.

In addition to the Ḥaḍramawt coinage, Bi'r 'Alī excavations revealed Sabaeen and Ḥimyarite series (see Table 1). Among the last ones the most numerous are small crude bronze fractions of the series with *bucranium*. Its obverse bore a male head facing to the right or left flanked by two symbols: symbol of 'Ilmaqah on the left and symbol of 'Ahtar on the right. The reverse showed *bucranium* with long horns and plume between them facing front, monogram on the left or right, and symbol of 'Awām Temple on the right or left (Fig. 1, 12). Coins were struck on irregular thin slightly scyphate flans, 7–10 mm in diameter. The weights of the pieces were usually around or less than 1.0 g.

Small crude bronze fractions of the series with *bucranium* were found at Shabwa, at the settlements in the Wadi Ḥaḍramawt, in Marib oasis (necropolis near 'Awām Temple), at Khōr Rōrī (ancient *Sumhuram*). Coin hoards consisting of several hundreds of such coins are known from al-Jawf and Wadi Markha in Yemen, and even from Ethiopia²⁸. At Bi'r 'Alī settlement (ancient *Qāni*) 144 pieces of small crude bronze fractions of the series with *bucranium* were found in the ›late‹ layers of the ›middle‹ (BA-II) period dated between the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. (see Table 4). Typologically such coins are the continuation of the late Sabaeen silver and bronze series with *bucranium* of the 2nd and mid 3rd centuries A.D.

Apparently, the Ḥimyarites borrowed the late Sabaeen type for the local circulation.

Thus, the stratigraphy of the coins' finds from Bi'r 'Alī settlement (ancient *Qāni*) allows us to establish the sequence of Ḥaḍramawt series, and to determine more or less precise absolute dates for them (see Table 5). Using these data we can try to date now archaeological layers of different monuments. There is only one example – excavations at Khōr Rōrī (ancient *Sumhuram*).

The most striking result of the first two campaigns²⁹ is the presence among the coins' finds from the settlement of quite a big number of the early Ḥaḍramawt imitations (series ›head/owl‹; type 2): they constitute more than 25 % of the total numismatic finds (for instance, at Bi'r 'Alī the early Ḥaḍramawt imitations constitute only 1.1 % of the total numismatic finds; see Table 1). We may assume that such a big concentration of coins dated close to the mid 2nd – late 1st centuries B.C. provides some additional evidence for the supposition that a Ḥaḍrami settlement was existing at Khōr Rōrī prior to the foundation of the walled city of Sumhuram, i. e. prior to the late 1st century B.C.³⁰

The presence at Sumhuram of a number of coins of the late Ḥimyarite series, i. e. small crude bronze fractions of the series with *bucranium*, is also very important. It seems that these coins were the smallest denomination of the Ḥimyarite Empire, and were widely circulated throughout the area of its political hegemony. In addition to the confirmation of the absolute dating of the top strata at the site close to the early 4th century A.D., the fact that such pieces were found not only at Bi'r 'Alī settlement (ancient *Qāni*) and in Shabwa, the capital of the ancient Ḥaḍramawt, but even so far to the east

²⁷ Cf. Jamme op. cit. 10–14; see also Ch. J. Robin, Les inscriptions d'al-Mi'sāl et la chronologie de l'Arabie méridionale au III^e siècle de l'ère chrétienne, CRAIBL 1981, 327 f.

²⁸ Sedov, Moneti drevnego Hadramauta op. cit. (note 2) 152.

²⁹ Cf. A. Avanzini et al., Excavations and Restoration of the Complex of Khor Rori. MID's Interim Report 1999–2000 (2000); idem, Excavations and Restoration of the Complex of Khor Rori. Interim Report October 2000–April 2001 (2001).

³⁰ Cf. A. Avanzini – R. Orazi, The construction phases of Khor Rori's monumental gate, AAE 12 no. 2, 2001, 249–259.

strongly suggests that the entire kingdom including its eastern possessions was incorporated into the economic system of the new state, the state whose rulers bore now the title »king of Saba' and dhū-Raydān, and Ḥaḍramawt, and Yamanat«.

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سك العملة في حضرموت

الـكـسـنـدر سـيـدـوف

(Alexander Sedov)

ملخص:

أزاحت الاكتشافات الأثرية الروسية بمستوطنة بير علي (Qani قديما) والإيطالية في خور روري (سُمُهِرَم قديما) الستار عن عدد ضخم من عملات حضرمية وسبئية وحميرية متنوعة في طبقات الأرض التي أمكن عزوها إلى فترات أثرية مختلفة. وقد أمكن تحديد تلك الفترات بدقة أكبر أو أقل بوجود الفخاريات المستوردة ، لا سيما من منطقة المتوسط ، وبواسطة مادة أثرية أخرى حساسة من ناحية التسلسل التاريخي. ومن ثم ؛ فلدينا الآن إمكانية تحديد إطار زمني عام لبعض عملات جنوب بلاد العرب وخاصة عملات حضرموت. لقد كانت أولى العملات التي تم سكها وتداولها في حضرموت عبارة عن تقليد اتخذ قطع العملة الأثينية التي قيمتها أربع دراهمات نموذجا. وفيما بعد حل محلها أنواع ذات أيقنة محلية ومونوغرامات ونقوش. إن دراسة طبقات الأرض في مناطق اكتشاف العملات بالمعالم الأثرية وكذلك الفك المبني لمغالق المونوغرامات يسمح لنا أن نربط سلسلة العملات الحضرمية بملوك حضرميين مختلفين كانوا يحكمون من القرن الأول إلى القرن الثالث الميلادي. ويبدو أن سك العملة في حضرموت انتهى في حوالي الربع الأخير من القرن الثالث الميلادي ، ولكن لا ريب أنه قد استمر تداولها في أرض المملكة المستقلة الأولى في القرن الرابع وحتى أوائل القرن الخامس الميلادي إلى جانب سلسلة العملات الحميرية.

JUDEN UND AL-'UZZĀ-VEREHRER

Neue Lesung zweier altsüdarabischer Graffiti aus Saudi-Arabien

Seit der letzten, unter dem Titel »Anmerkungen zu einigen jüngst publizierten Felsinschriften aus Saudi-Arabien«¹ 1998 erschienenen Bestandsaufnahme der aus der südwestlichen Ecke Saudi-Arabiens stammenden altsüdarabischen Graffiti sind zwei weitere Sammlungen von sabäischen Felsinschriften und Graffiti aus dieser Region publiziert worden, die für die altsüdarabische Epigraphik von großer Bedeutung sind.

- Sa'īd b. Fāyiz Ibrāhīm as-Sa'īd, Nuqūš 'arabīya ḡanūbiya qadīma min al-Birk (al-mamlaka al-'arabīya as-sa-'ūdīya), in: *ad-Dāratu* 22/4 (1997) 121–155; Index der Wörter und Namen 154 f. sowie 5 Seiten Faksimiles und eine Karte.
- Khalid Mohammad Eskoubi, *An Analytical Study of the Inscriptions from Ashen, al-Ma'lamat, and Dhahran al-Janub in the Southern Province. Archaeological Survey for the Year 1412/1413H (1992/1993)*, Aṭlāl 15, 2000, 99–112 Taf. 35–39.

Letztere Publikation, die durch ein Übermaß an Fehlern entstellt und völlig unbrauchbar geworden ist, enthält zwei Graffiti, die – richtig gelesen – ein interessantes Licht auf die religionsgeschichtliche Situation Südwestarabiens in den letzten Jahrhunderten vor dem Islam werfen.

Eskoubi 2000: C 1 (Foto ebenda Taf. 36 b)

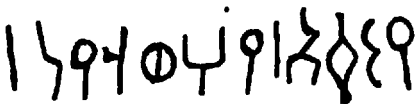


Fig. 1

Diese Inschrift, die unter den von Eskoubi publizierten sicherlich die wichtigste darstellt, wurde

in der editio princeps völlig verlesen. Eskoubis Lesung *yšq' lyhwlyny* ist ebenso unannehmbar wie seine Deutung. Tatsächlich ist zu lesen:

yrf'/yhwlyny/ Yrf', der Jude

Der Name *Yrf'* ist im vorislamischen Arabien gut bezeugt – vgl. sabäisch *yrf'* in MQ-al-Jifjif 1/1, minäisch *yrf'* in M 28/1 = Ma'in 33², thamudisch *yrf'* in JS 531 aus al-'Ulā – sowie in der Form *Yarfā* auch aus der klassisch-arabischen Literatur bekannt³. Der Name *yrf'* ist als Verkürzung eines kompositen Namens *yrf'* + theophores Element

Abbildungsnachweis: Umzeichnungen vom Verfasser.

¹ Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 88, 1998, 229–259.

² Diese Inschrift ist bislang nur aufgrund einer Kopie von J. Halévy bekannt. Die fragliche Passage lautet *bkbri/ yrf'/(...)* »unter dem Kabīr (namens) Yrf'«. Von Mordtmann und Hartmann wurde der Worttrenner am Ende ohne erkennbare Gründe zu *lām*, also *yrf'/(l)*, korrigiert (vgl. Kommentar in RES). Im RES, wo dieser Text unter Nr. 2772 aufgenommen wurde, ist dieses *lām* zumindest noch eingeklammert, und der Kommentar weist darauf hin, daß es sich nur um eine Konjekture handelt. Von G. Garbini wurde allerdings die Form *yrf'/(l)* – ohne jegliche Angaben zur »Herkunft« des *lām* – in seine »Iscrizioni minee« (1974) übernommen (M 28). Dadurch, daß diese Form in der jüngsten systematischen Behandlung des minäischen Onomastikons inkludiert wurde – s. S. F. al-Said, Die Personennamen in den minäischen Inschriften. Eine etymologische und lexikalische Studie im Bereich der semitischen Sprachen, Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz 41 (1995) 50 und 182 –, ist sie schließlich zu einem »Faktum« geworden. Erst F. Bron, *Inventaire des inscriptions sudarabiques III. Ma'in* (1998) 66, hat der korrekten Form *yrf'* wieder zu ihrem Recht verholfen.

³ W. Caskel, *Ḡamharat an-nasab. Das genealogische Werk des Hišām Ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī II* (1966) 591.

»Geheilt hat der Gott NN« zu deuten, vgl. thamudisch *yrf'l* in JS 485 und 537 aus al-'Ulā, alt-aramäisch *yrf'l*⁴ und amurritisch *Ia-ar-pa-d'IM*⁵ (Streck 2000, 197); hebr. *yrf'l* ist nur als Toponym, das jedoch zweifellos auf einen Personennamen zurückgeht⁶, belegt. Da der Name *yrf'* ebenso wie andere von der Wurzel **yf'* derivierte Namen im Frühnord- und Altsüdarabischen gut bezeugt ist, liegt kein Grund zur Annahme vor, daß er (speziell im Fall des vorliegenden Graffito) aus dem nordwestsemitischen Raum entlehnt wurde.

Die auf den Namen folgende Bezeichnung *yhw-d-y-n /yahūdīyān/* »der Jude« ist als Nisbenform auf -y zu dem Kollektivum *yh(w)d- /yahūd-/* »Juden« zu deuten. Aufgrund der Nunation (status determinatus) muß die Form *yhwdy-n* als sabäisch klassifiziert werden.

Obwohl diese Nisben-Singularform bislang nicht belegt war, konnte auf ihre Existenz doch aus der dazugehörigen Nisben-Pluralform *'yhd-n /'ayhūdān/* »die Juden« (status determinatus) in der spätsabäischen Inschrift MAFRAY-Ḥaṣī 1/4.5.13⁸ zurückgeschlossen werden. Die entsprechende Nisben-Singularform, die als **yhwdy- /yahūdī-/* angesetzt werden konnte, war allerdings bislang epigraphisch nicht belegt. Das Graffito Eskoubi 2000: C 1 brachte nun den ersten Beleg. Während die Nisben-Singularform *yahūdī* auch aus dem Safaitischen⁹ und Arabischen¹⁰ bekannt ist, ist dort ein Nisbenplural der für das Altsüdarabische charakteristischen Form **'ayhūd-* (nach dem Schema **'af'ul-*) unbekannt. Dieser genuin altsüdarabische Nisbenplural ist jedoch ins Ge'ez entlehnt worden, woraus dann dort wiederum retrograd die Singularform **'ayhūdāwī* abgeleitet wurde¹¹.

Paläographisch ist dieses Graffito in die spätsabäische Periode zu datieren.

Eskoubi 2000: C 2a (Foto ebenda Taf. 38 a)



Fig. 2

whb'zyn

In der editio princeps wurde dieser Text *whbwzyn* gelesen und als »Whb and Zyn« gedeutet. Diese

Fehllesung beruht wahrscheinlich auf der paläographischen Eigentümlichkeit, daß das ' einen horizontalen Querstrich aufweist und daher von Eskoubi fälschlich als *w* gelesen wurde. An paläographischen Besonderheiten fällt weiters auf, daß das *z* die aus dem älteren Lihyanischen sowie »Thamudischen« (C, D und Hismā'isch) bekannte Form hat, die dem lateinischen *H* gleicht¹².

Der Name *whb'-zyn* enthält als theophores Element den Namen der nordarabischen Göttin al-'Uzzā¹³ in seiner »sabäisierten« Form *'zy-n /'Uz-*

⁴ M. Maraqtan, Die semitischen Personennamen in den alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften aus Vorderasien, Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik 5 (1988) 173.

⁵ M. P. Streck, Das amurritische Onomastikon der altbabylonischen Zeit I. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 271/1 (2000) 197.

⁶ W. Gesenius in: H. Donner (Hrsg.), Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament II¹⁸ (1995) 499 b.

⁷ Die Kollektiva *yh(w)d* (vgl. arab. *Yahūd* [n. coll.]) und *b(w)d* (vgl. arab. *Hūd* [n. coll.]) »Juden« sind im Spätsabäischen nur in den Komposita *rb-yhd* in CIH 543/2, *rb-bd* in Ja 1028/12 und *rb-hwd* in Ry 515/5 bezeugt.

⁸ C. Robin, Du paganisme au monothéisme, in: ders. (Hrsg.), L'Arabie antique de Karib'il à Mahomet. Nouvelles données sur l'histoire des Arabes grâce aux inscriptions, Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée 61, 1983, 146; W. W. Müller in: S. Hopkins, The Words for »Jew(s)« in Arabic, IOS 17 (1997) 20 Anm. 30; S. A. Frantsouzoff, A Gezerah-Decree from Ancient Southern Arabia (new approach to the interpretation on MAFRAY-Ḥaṣī 1), Aram 8 (1996) 299–306; C. J. Robin, Les inscriptions de Ḥaṣī, Raydān 7, 2001, 182–191.

⁹ Belege für das Kollektivum *'yhd* »die Juden« und die Nisba *b-yhdy* »der Jude« bei M. C. A. Macdonald, Herodian Echos in the Syrian Desert, in: S. Bourke – J. P. Descœudres (Hrsg.), Trade, Contact, and the Movement of Peoples in the Eastern Mediterranean. Studies in Honour of J. B. Hennessy (1995) 285.

¹⁰ In der altarabischen Poesie vgl. z. B. 'A'ā IV 10 (Ed. Geyer) *wa-ṣabbā'a fāfa yahūdīyuh // wa-'abrazahā wa-'alayhā hutumun* »topasgelben (Wein), sein Jude (d. h. der Schenkenbesitzer) ging umher und holte ihn hervor, an dem noch die Siegel waren« und den einzigen koranischen Beleg in 3,67 *mā kāna 'lbrāhimu yahūdīyan wa-lā naṣrānīyan* »Abraham war weder ein Jude noch ein Christ«.

¹¹ Vgl. W. Leslau, Comparative Dictionary of Geez (1991) 626 b.

¹² Vgl. M. C. A. Macdonald, Reflections on the Linguistic Map of Pre-Islamic Arabia, AAE 11, 2000, 34 Tab. 3.

¹³ Vgl. M. C. A. Macdonald – L. Nehmé, EI² (2000) X 967b–968b.

zayān¹⁴. Der komposite Personenname, der »Gabe der 'Uzzayān« bedeutet, ist somit – trotz der etwas eigentümlichen Form mancher Buchstaben – als altsüdarabisch zu klassifizieren.

Im Altsüdarabischen treten Namen mit dem theophoren Element -'zyn erst (und ausschließlich) im Mittelsabäischen und insgesamt recht selten auf. Folgende Namen sind m. W. bezeugt:

wbb-'zyn (mask., Fa 3/3: Širwāḥ, Zeit des Nš'krb Y'mn Yhrḥb)

'mt-'zyn (fem., CIH 558/6–7: Herkunft unbekannt, 1.–3. Jh. n. Chr.)

(fem., Zayd 'Inān 24: 'wm/Mārib, mittelsabäisch)

ṛd-'zyn (mask., Ashmolean Museum 1957.17/6: 'wm/Mārib, ca. 1.–3. Jh. n. Chr.)

(mask., Fa 3/3: Širwāḥ, Zeit des Nš'krb Y'mn Yhrḥb)

'bd-'zyn (mask., Ja 1012 m: südwestliches Saudi-Arabien¹⁵, mittelsabäisch)

¹⁴ Nach Ausweis von Ja 2138 wird in Qaryat al-Faw schon die genuin nord-arabische Form *'l-'zy* /'al-'Uzzay/ verwendet (vgl. zu dieser Inschrift zuletzt N. Nebes, Die Konstruktionen mit /fa-/ im Altsüdarabischen. Syntaktische und epigraphische Untersuchungen, Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz 40 [1995] 55 Anm. 117), bzw. in Personennamen die Form *-l-'zy* gebraucht; vgl. den Namen *'bd-l-'zy* bei A. R. al-Ansary, Qaryat al-Faw: A Portrait of Pre-Islamic Civilisation in Saudi Arabia (1982) 143 Abb. 3.

¹⁵ Die Herkunftsangabe Qariyat Qadimat der editio princeps kann ich nicht lokalisieren.

اليهود وعبد العزى

قراءات جديدة لرسمين من السعودية بالكتابة العربية الجنوبية القديمة

ألكسندر سيبما

(Alexander Sima)

ملخص:

في عام 2000 قام خالد م. إسكوبي بنشر عدة رسومات بالكتابة العربية الجنوبية القديمة كانت قد اكتشفت في جنوب غرب المملكة العربية السعودية. ونظرا لأن قراءته وتوضيحاته لتلك النصوص ، التي لا تشتمل إلا على أسماء أشخاص تقريبا ، خاطئة جدا مع الأسف ؛ فقد أعيد هنا نشر أروع نصين في صورة مصححة. أما الرسم الأول ؛ فلرجل يدعى (ي ر ف ع yrf) يطلق على نفسه (ي ه و د ي ن yhwdyn) أي: اليهودي. ويعتبر هذا هو الشاهد الأول لصيغة المفرد "يهودي" في العربية الجنوبية القديمة. وأما الرسم الثاني ؛ فلرجل يدعى (و ه ب / ع ز ي ن Whb-'zyn) أي: "هبة (الإلهة) عَزَيَّان". ويعتبر هذا شاهدا جديدا لتلك الاسم الذي يشير إلى الرب باشتماله على اسم إلهة شمال بلاد العرب - العزى - في صورته العربية الجنوبية القديمة. ونظرا لأنه قد عرفت حتى الآن أربعة أسماء مركبة مع اسم عَزَيَّان تُشهد لكل منها مرة أو مرتين ؛ فوجب التسليم بأن عبادة تلك الإلهة العربية الشمالية قد كانت في جنوب بلاد العرب أوسع انتشارا مما يظن من خلال مجموعة الآلهة الرسمية للكلمة.

LINGUISTIC CONTRIBUTIONS TO SABAEAN CHRONOLOGY

1. INTRODUCTION

Until today, the periodisation of the history of Epigraphic South Arabian, and especially of the Sabaic language, has belonged to the less considered fields of South Arabian linguistics. Indeed, some tendencies of linguistic development within the Sabaic language have been known for long, which led to the rough division into the three periods Early (or Archaic), Middle, and Late (or Recent) Sabaic¹. A collection of representative linguistic characteristics, however, has not been undertaken so far, neither has been a fairly exact historical placement of the change from the early to the middle period of the Sabaic language.

In the course of my research on Sabaic phonology and morphology², I have come across some grammatical phenomena that can help to determine the transition from the Early to the Middle Sabaic period more precisely and also to fix it historically. In a first section of my paper, I intend to present the most prominent of these grammatical features. Subsequently, I will try to arrange the concerning inscriptions in our present chronological system, and to look for possible historical reasons for the linguistic change that is reflected in those texts. Finally, in a last section, I want to deal with the question to what extent such grammatical features may be relevant to our dating of the inscriptions.

2. ARCHAIC CONTRA MIDDLE SABAEIC

2.1. Recent Findings in Sabaic Linguistics

In several parts of Sabaic grammar, a break can be observed between an older practice and a younger one. The numerals for »three« and »six«, for exam-

ple, present a writing *šlt* and *sdṭ* respectively in older texts, while we find *ṭlt* and *st* in younger inscriptions. Nevertheless, these numerals are still too rarely attested in the period under consideration (cf. the references in tabular A and B). Some other peculiarities, however, which so far have not been noticed in this relation, occur much more frequently and thus may help us to answer our question. I want to point at four of them in the following.

The first one is the preposition/conjunction 'd(y), which is always written defectively in early texts ('d, 30 cases), while in later times plene writing

Source of illustrations: All figures made by the author.

Sigla of inscriptions are cited according to DS; in addition to this cf. K. A. Kitchen, *Documentation for Ancient Arabia II. Bibliographical Catalogue of Texts* (2000). The inscriptions Gr 48–348 are published by G. M. Bauer–A. G. Lundin, *Epigraphische pamjatniki drevnego Iemena, Južnaja Aravija 2/2* (1998).

Apart from the abbreviations in ABADY 9 (2002) the following are used:

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| Wissmann, Sabäerreich | H. v. Wissmann, <i>Die Geschichte des Sabäerreichs und der Feldzug des Aelius Gallus</i> , in: ANRW II 9 (1976) 308–544 |
| Wissmann, Saba | H. v. Wissmann, <i>Die Geschichte von Saba' II. Das Großreich der Sabäer bis zu seinem Ende im frühen 4. Jh. v. Chr.</i> , Hrsg. von Walter W. Müller, SBWien 402, 1982 |

¹ Cf., for example, A. F. L. Beeston, *Sabaic Grammar* (1984) 2. This periodisation also tends to be fixed to formalities like the ductus of script (e.g. boustrophedon) or the religion of the authors of the inscriptions (as the Late Sabaic inscriptions of the monotheistic period).

² The results have recently been published as P. Stein, *Untersuchungen zur Phonologie und Morphologie des Sabäischen* (2003).

is found ('dy').³ Since there are practically no exceptions from this rule⁴, the assumption of a grammatical change at this point is fairly probable⁵.

A quite similar development is shown by the relative pronoun *q̄* forming part of the composed conjunction *l-k-q̄*, which is written in older texts only in this manner (more than 25 examples in 16 inscriptions)⁶, while the younger inscriptions regularly show plene writing *l-k-dy* (7 examples).

Another, clearly morphological, characteristic for a change in linguistic usage is the formation of the infinitive. The hitherto existing approaches to the question of rules for the attachment of *-n* to the infinitive (cf. *hšqr* besides *hšqrm*) cannot be discussed here. My recent investigation of the whole Sabaic corpus, however, has led to the conclusion that the attachment of the affirmative *-n* to the infinitive is subject to the following rules⁷: Concerning the central region of the domain of the Sabaic language around Marib and the adjacent highlands to the west of it⁸, in the Middle Sabaic period, *-n* is regularly attached to the infinitive of derived verbal stems. In other words, the affirmative *-n* serves as a marker of the derived stems in contrast to the unmarked base stem (cf. e.g. *'wln* »to bring back« opposite *'wl* »to get back«; *hš' mn* »to sell« opposite *š'mn* »to buy«)⁹. In contrast to this, Early Sabaic forms exclusively unaugmented infinitives of the derived stems, for which I have found more than a dozen examples. Looking at the evidence of the region around Marib and Širwāh¹⁰, we can say that the beginning of the attachment of *-n* to the infinitive seems to be an innovation, in contrast to the earlier practice which basically does not know such kind of infinitive formation.

The last example, which is, however, not reliable to the same extent, is the assimilation of *n* to a following consonant. The fact of assimilation as such is beyond any doubt, as the appearance of defective writings like *bt* »daughter« or the plural *'fs* »souls«, besides plene writings *bnt* and *'nfs* respectively, proves¹¹. Well, as far as I can see, in Early Sabaic texts only plene writings of such forms occur. Apart from probably one example¹², there is no proof in writing for assimilation of *n* to a following consonant in the Early Sabaic inscriptions. Considering the dominance of defective writings in the Middle and Late Sabaic period, we are urged to assume a break with the earlier practice in this case, too¹³.

³ In my opinion, it is improbable that this is an exclusively graphical phenomenon because defective writing of long final vowels in Sabaic is expected only in the case of /ā/. Final /ū/ and /ī/ are regularly written by means of semi vowels *w* and *y* respectively. – Only the dual ending of nominal and verbal forms in early texts of the archaic period is written defectively, which can be considered as an argument for the reconstruction of the original Sabaic dual ending in /-ā/.

⁴ Merely some texts of the Middle Sabaic period from the Radmānite area and the Wadi Šuḍayf show defective writing: 'd: YMN 9/4, YMN 11/2, R 3958/5, MAFRAY-al-Mi'sāl 2/5 (besides 'dy in line 10), and Bahā' 1/3 (cf. I. Gajda – M. Arbach – F. Bron, *Semitica* 48, 1999, 103–107), as well as Šilwī-āš-Šuḍayf 1/5 and München 94-317880/2 (W. Seipel [ed.], *Jemen. Kunst und Archäologie im Land der Königin von Saba*, exhibition cat. Vienna [1998] no. 213). Cf. also C 547/7 from Haram. The inscriptions of the mentioned regions present other peculiarities differing from Middle Sabaic »standard«, which are to be connected with archaic practice as well.

⁵ By the way it should be mentioned that in the formula »from (the foundations) up to (the roof)« occurring in building inscriptions also the meaning »from« in older texts is expressed by a preposition (*ln*) different from the one regularly used in later texts (*bn*).

⁶ Among them R 3945/2.16 *bn k-q̄* and *Ø-k-q̄* respectively, the latter form also in Y(alā).90.DA 2/4, GI 1520/1, and GI 1379/5 = Gr 171/5.

⁷ Cf. in detail P. Stein, *Zur Morphologie des sabäischen Infinitivs*, Or 71, 2002, 393–414, where older literature on the topic is also discussed.

⁸ The regions under Radmānite influence, however, do not follow this rule. Infinitive formation in this area has rather to be connected with Early Sabaic practice.

⁹ A similar practice is found in Aramaic (cf. e.g. the Syriac infinitives *maqālā*, *meqālā* etc. opposite *meqāl*). – The quantity of exceptions from this rule, numbering a little less than two dozen, is quite irrelevant considering the immense corpus of inscriptions known from the region and time concerned. Only the two verbs *b'n* and *bkms* show some more exceptions from this rule, which, nevertheless, may be explained as negligence in writing (more details and references are given in Stein op. cit. 400 ff.).

¹⁰ In the early inscriptions from the highlands no forms are attested relating to this.

¹¹ Further examples are verbal and nominal forms of derived stems, first of all the H-stem, of verba I n, like *bqḏw* »they captured« and *mbkrm* »someone who damages«, besides *bnqḏ* and *mbnkrm* respectively.

¹² The only exception is (following the common interpretation) *yḡqm* (*NQM, cf. DS s.v.) in R 3945/18. In my opinion, a different derivation (e.g. from the root QWM »erect, establish«) cannot completely be excluded.

¹³ The occasional plene writings in younger texts, however, do not allow a very exact historical delimitation of the different writings. Indeed, a defective writing necessarily indicates assimilation of *n*, but on the contrary, plene writing does not necessarily indicate non-assimilation.

Finally, there are some additional features whose difference between the two periods is more due to stylistic than to grammatical reasons, as, for example, the use of the temporal conjunction *b-kn* in younger texts instead of the more archaic *ywm*, or the use of the plural *'wld-* »offspring« before a pronominal suffix instead of *wld-*, the latter being almost exclusively used in texts of the early period. Another example is the verbal stem used for the expression »to complete« in building inscriptions, which is always *šqr* in older texts (cf. e.g. R 3915/2), but *hšqr(n)* in younger ones (e.g. F 77/2f.).

2.2. Delimiting the Features within Language History

After having presented some of the outstanding grammatical phenomena, I now want to deal with the question whether the single phases of change are connected with each other. In one simple question: did the breaks within each single phenomenon occur at different times, (and thus independently from each other), or at the same time? In order to answer this question it is necessary to arrange the inscriptions under consideration from a historical and paleographical point of view. The following tabulars compiled for this purpose contain the evidence we spoke about, arranged in two large blocks (A and B) according to the provenance of the inscriptions.

Comments on the Following Tabulars:

The chronological order of the inscriptions is based mainly on paleographic characteristics of their script following the historical system of H. v. Wissmann¹⁴ with the aid of the paleography of J. Pirenne¹⁵ and results of my own research. To illustrate the arrangement of the tabulars, I have compiled the paleographic figures 1 and 2 of selected inscriptions, whose order is the same as in the tabulars¹⁶.

B: inscription written boustrophedon (b) or not (–)
–ass.: assimilation of *n* not expressed (*n* occurring in script)

+ass.: assimilation of *n* expressed by *n* disappearing in script

'd(y), *k-d(y)*, *šlt/šlt*: writing of the forms in the older and younger period respectively

inf. -Ø: unaugmented formation of the infinitive of derived stems

inf. -*n*: formation of the infinitive of derived stems by adding the affirmative -*n*

Comments on Several Inscriptions:

Tabular A:

If the tribe d-MNHYTM mentioned in GI A 744/1 is to be connected with the toponym MNHYTM of R 3945/15, the provenance of the inscription may be located in the Ġawf¹⁷.

Tabular B:

The provenance (Marib) of C 570 is probable due to topographical details mentioned in the text¹⁸; the clan name *ĤŠG* (line 10) is also found in another inscription from Marib (Foster-Mārib 1/1). – FB-Mahram Bilqis 1 is published by F. Bron and J. Ryckmans¹⁹. – In respect to the provenance of CIH 562 cf. Wissmann²⁰. – F 61 and R 3913 are to be connected with each other because of the same author. – The entry of R 3915 is, hesitating, due to the clan name *'LFQM* mentioned in line 1, which else is attested in texts from Marib only (J 629/33, R 4434, and R 4455). – R 3911 is surely originating from Marib as is shown by the name of the oasis *'BYN* (line 4) especially. – R 4627, published without facsimile, is classified by J. Pirenne²¹ as style E 3 according to an impression by E. Glaser.

¹⁴ Wissmann, Sabäerreich; Wissmann, Saba. – Citing the Wissmannic chronological data in this paper does not mean that I completely accept his absolute chronology in all details (some critical remarks on this system are given further below). Even though the absolute dating of the inscriptions is not that fixed as Wissmann's year-dates might suggest, at least his relative chronology of that time is the only comprehensive one we have so far.

¹⁵ J. Pirenne, *Paléographie des inscriptions sud-arabes. Contribution à la chronologie et à l'histoire de l'Arabie du Sud antique I. Des origines jusqu'à l'époque himyarite* (1956).

¹⁶ I am grateful to N. Nebes who placed a photograph of the inscription C 400 from the Bar'an Temple in Marib at my disposal. – Photographs of some of the building inscriptions of the 'Awām Temple wall have recently been published by W. D. Glanzman, *Clarifying the Record: The Bayt 'Awwām Revisited*, PSAS 29, 1999, 73–88.

¹⁷ Cf. A. H. al-Sheiba, *Die Ortsnamen in den altsüdarabischen Inschriften*, in: *ABADY* 4 (1987) 55.

¹⁸ Cf. e.g. W. W. Müller, in: *TUAT* I 3 (1983) 276 f.

¹⁹ F. Bron – J. Ryckmans, *Semitica* 49, 1999, 161–169.

²⁰ Wissmann, *Sabäerreich* 390.

²¹ Pirenne *op. cit.* 208. 306.

Y	Ψ	h	h	h	H	Y	o	o	o	)	h	h	h	Gr 116
Y	Ψ	h	h	h	H	Y	o	o	o	)	h	h	h	RES 4176
Y	Ψ	h	h	h		Y	o	o	o	)	h	h	h	CIH 337
Y	Ψ	h	h	h	H	Y	o	o	o	)	h	h	h	Ra 42
Y	Ψ	h	h	h	H	Y	o	o	o	)	h	h	h	Hadaqān 1-2
Y	Ψ	h			H	Y	o	o	o	)	h	h	h	Gr 14
Y		h	h	h	H	Y	o	o	o	)	h	h	h	Gl 1379-Gr 171
		h	h	h	h	H	Y	o		)	h	h	h	CIH 594
Y	Ψ	h	h	h	h	H	Y	o	o	)	h	h	h	MAFRAY-Outra 1

Fig. 1 Inscriptions from the Central Yemeni Highlands (and of unknown provenance)

At first glance already, it becomes clear that the change of all mentioned phenomena from the older towards the younger practice takes place within two centuries, i. e. from the first half of the 4th to the first half of the 2nd century B.C. according to the chronology of Wissmann. All inscriptions dating prior or subsequent to this period (and therefore not occurring in the tabulars), exclusively contain older or, apart from a few exceptions²², exclusively contain younger phenomena respectively. Concerning the situation of findings in the highlands, however, it has to be noticed that extensive texts containing forms of relevance older than the listed ones about 300 B.C. have not yet been attested. In spite of this, regarding the tables, several features can be detected:

1. While in the texts from Marib and Širwāh the ›old‹ phenomena predominate and changes occur very slowly, we find quite the contrary in the highlands, where we have a predominance of the ›younger‹ phenomena from the very beginning.
2. In the region of Marib and Širwāh the ›old‹ phenomena survive longest.
3. Apart from one ›runaway‹ (J 557)²³, the ›younger‹ phenomena in Marib-Širwāh occur just at the beginning of the 3rd century, hence at the same time as in the inscriptions from the highlands.
4. While in the region of Marib-Širwāh in this time the definitive transition takes place from bou-

strophedon to non-boustrophedon writing, we do not find any boustrophedon written inscription from the highlands any more²⁴.

All these points lead to the assumption that the grammatical innovations discussed above originate from the Central Yemeni Highlands. From there they seem to have spread down towards the old centres, namely Marib and Širwāh, where they, step by step, overlapped the archaic language spoken in these areas until that time. Along with these grammatical innovations, a new ductus of script came into use, the most remarkable characteristic of which is the final loss of boustrophedon writing²⁵.

²² There are several plene writings of assimilated *n* (as already noted above) and some cases of *h* in Middle Sabaic texts, which may be considered as some kind of archaism. Note, however, the Late Sabaic *w-k-q* in B. Ašwal 1/5, C 541/103.114, and J 1028/4.

²³ Which shall be dealt with later in paragraph 4.

²⁴ The latest inscription written boustrophedon known from the highlands seems to be Gr 226 from 'Irwa, classified as Pirenne's style C 1 by the editors; cf. also R 4347 (written in a rough ductus), related by Pirenne op. cit. 170, to her paleographic style D 2.

²⁵ Another typical feature is the compact ductus of the letters, which leads, in addition to certain irregularities, Wissmann, Sabäerreich 388, to the statement, these inscriptions represent the ›Beginn der Verwilderung der Steinmetzschrift‹.

Y	Ψ	h	h	h	h	H	o	o	o	)	h	h		Ja 552
Y		h	h	h	h	H	o	o	o	)	h	h		CIH 955 +418
Y	Ψ	h	h	h	h	H	o	o	o	)	h	h	h	CIH 563+956
Y	Y	h	h		h		o	o	)	h	h	h		Ja 554
Y	Ψ	h	h	h	h	H	o	o	)	h	h	h	h	Ja 550
Y	Y	h	h	h	h	H	o	o	)	h	h	h	h	CIH 570
Y	Ψ	h	h	h	h	H	o	o	)	h	h	h	h	RES 3951
Y	Ψ	h	h	h	h	H	o	o	)	h	h	h	h	Ja 400
Y	Ψ	h	h	h	h	H	o	o	)	h	h	h	h	CIH 376
Y	Ψ	h	h	h	h	H	o	o	)	h	h	h	h	MAFRAY: Mabniyya 2
Y	Y	h	h		h		o	o	)	h	h	h	h	CIH 400
Y	Ψ	h			H	o	o	o	)	h	h	h	h	GL 1100
Y	h	h		h		o	o	o	)	h	h	h	h	RES 3913
Y	h	h	h	h		H	o	o	)	h	h	h	h	RES 3911
Y	h	h			H	o	o	o	)	h	h	h	h	CIH 659
Y	h			h	H	o	o	o	)	h	h	h	h	Ja 551
Y	Y	h	h	h	h	H	o	o	)	h	h	h	h	RES 4626, Gl 1093 etc.
Y	h	h	h		H	o		)	h	h	h	h		Fa 2

Fig. 2 Inscriptions from Marib, Širwāḥ (as well as the Gawf)

Against the background of this evidence, we are now able to re-define the limit between Early and Middle Sabaic. Following the absolute chronology of Wissmann, the Early Sabaic idiom is proved to be in use as far as the beginning of the 2nd century B.C.²⁶ From the beginning of the 3rd century,

²⁶ In marginal regions only (such as the Radmānite area and the regions north to the Ġawf), typical features of Early Sabaic (especially the regularly unaugmented infinitive and the preposition 'd, cf. above n. 4. 8) are found far in the middle period, too. It seems quite possible that these peculiarities are based on a continuity of the language spoken in these areas.

	Dating		B	»Old« Phenomena					»Young« Phenomena				
	Wiss.	Pir.		-ass.	'd	k-d	šl	inf.-Ø	+ass.	'dy	k-dy	šl	inf.-n
Gr 116			-										[*]
R 4176	(295)		-	.		.		.	.		.	.	.
C 37	(295)	D 3	-						.				
C 337	(295)	D 3	-				.		.				
C 338	(295)		-						.				
Ra 42	(270)	E 1	-	.		.							
Ḥadaqān 1+2			-										.
Gr 120			-			.							
Gr 119			-			.							
Gr 14			-									.	
Gr 125			-	.									
Gr 217			-										.
Gl 1379 = Gr 171			-			.		.					.
*Gl A 744			-			.							
Gl 1220 = Gr 166			-					?					
Radt 1973, 89									.				
*C 594					.								
Gl 1591 and 1592			-						.				
C 355			-	.									
*Ry 366		E 3	-										.
Ra 10			-						.				
YM 386			-						.				
M.-Qutṛa 1			-						.	.			.
Gr 157			-						.		.		
Rob Rayda 1			-						.				
R 4651			-										.
*YM 470			-	.									
*C 211			-						.				

•	Dating		B	›Old‹ Phenomna					›Young‹ Phenomena				
	Wiss.	Pir.		-ass.	'd	k-d	šlt	inf.-Ø	+ass.	'dy	k-dy	tl	inf.-n
C 955 + 418	(390)	B 2	b		•								
C 563 + 956	(375)	C 2	b		•			•					
J 557	(362)				•								•
J 556					•								
J 555	(350)		b		•								
J 554	(350)				•			•					
C 375=J 550	(328)		b		•								
C 570		C 4	b			•	•	?					•
R 3951	(295)	D 1	b			•		•					
FB-M.Bilqīs 1			b	•									•
J 400			b				•						
C 562	(270)	E 2	b			•							
C 601	(245)	E 2	—		•	•							•
*M.-Mabniyya 2			—					•					
C 400			—										•
Gl 1100			—				•	•					
R 3913		E 3	—				•	•					
F 61			—					•					
R 3915		E 3	—					•					
R 3911		E 3	—					•					
C 659		E 3	—					•					
C 374=J 551	(200)								•				
Gl 1532			—						•				
R 4626	(175)		—						•				
Gl 1093 + Dupl.	(175)	E 3	—					•					
[R 4627		E 3]	—					•					
*R 4668			—						•				
F 77			—										•
F 2							•						
Rob Digue 1			—							•			

however, the younger language, which we already can call Middle Sabaic due to the continuity of the grammatical features, is gaining increasing influence. The fact that this innovation seems to originate from the Central Yemeni Highlands raises the question, since when and to what extent this language had been existing there before. Or, in other words: did some Early Sabaic similar to the one spoken in Marib and the Ġawf ever exist in the highlands? The short inscriptions and fragments known so far from there do not provide any evidence in this connection due to the complete lack of relevant forms²⁷. Consequently, according to our present knowledge, there is no argument against the assumption that the origin of Middle Sabaic is to be looked for in the Central Yemeni Highlands. Therefore, we have to proceed from the contemporary existence of several Sabaic dialects, differing from each other in particularities, during the 1st millennium B.C. Finally, one of them has prevailed over the other ones – under conditions we want to look at in the following paragraph.

3. THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Considering this extensive change of language within quite a short time, the question arises, what external reasons may have led to such change. Looking at the political constellations of this period – as far as they can be reconstructed –, we come across another remarkable change: the shift from the period of the »Mukarribs of Saba« towards the one of the »Kings of Saba«. Without discussing all the problems of the chronology of this period here, I want to point at least at some specific facts which can contribute to answer our question.

It is surely of common opinion²⁸ that the last Sabaeen ruler bearing the title »Mukarrib of Saba« (*mkrb sb*) was the Yada'il Bayyin bin Yita'amar Watar mentioned in the inscriptions C 634 and Širwāh 1, to whom Wissmann²⁹ attributes the reference number (394) B.C. The earliest inscriptions mentioning the title »King of Saba« (*mlk sb*), however, are, apart from two doubtful, possible exceptions³⁰, to be dated into the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. only³¹. From the century between the discussed periods, only rulers without royal title occur in the inscriptions.

Considering the silence of sources, we might be tempted to leave this century as some kind of »dark age«, in which the shift from one sort of rule to another takes place under largely unknown circumstances. But there are still the two attestations of »Kings of Marib« ([*'mlk mryb*] in J 557 and C 37 [the latter inscription, in addition, is written by a »King of Sum'ay« (*mlk sm'y*)]). Such a kind of local royal titles is rather unusual in Sabaeen

²⁷ Only the parallel occurrence of Early and Middle Sabaic phenomena in some inscriptions of the period under consideration here afford some hints at the actual existence of Early Sabaic features in the region. Nevertheless, the use of some kind of supra-regional standard language within the inscriptions besides a different vernacular cannot be excluded.

²⁸ Cf. e.g. Wissmann, Saba 234 ff., and C. Robin, Sheba II. Dans les inscriptions d'Arabie du sud, in: Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible, Fasc. 70 (1996) 1125.

²⁹ Wissmann, Saba 329–339.

³⁰ The Yita'amar Watar bin Yada'il Darīh mentioned in the dedicatory inscription C 490 from the Ġawf is ranged by Wissmann, Saba 318, about (407), as father of the last *mkrb* mentioned above, due to historical reasons. Neither photo nor facsimile of this inscription is known (Wissmann, Sabäerreich 428. 441, however, places this king about the beginning of the Christian era). Likewise, the boustrophedon written inscription R 4089, probably from Naḡrān, mentioning a [Yada'il Bayy]in, King of Saba', in line 3 (completed according to line 2) is dated about (390) for historical reasons. The (rough) ductus of its script, however, seems to speak more for a later dating (especially the widening of the letter shafts of Q, S, Y, and H; cf. ibidem 339 ff. and 328 f.; also Pirenne op. cit. 170: style D 2). Another example might be found in the boustrophedon written inscription J 400 B (A. Jammé, Miscellantes d'ancien arabe XII [1982] 30–36 with pl. 1) on a bronze statue from Marib, which mentions a »Yada'il Bayyin, King of Saba« (without filiation) in line 15. Although this inscription is usually dated earlier (cf. the date »6th century« proposed in Seipel op. cit. [n. 4] 284 ff. no. 139), its paleography tends to contradict this, cf. the rectangular »box« of ' , S, and K reaching only half the letter's height, the spread M, ' and N showing acute angles, Q, Y, H, and H showing widening of the letter shafts in several cases, and R tending to a boomerang form. All these are specific characteristics of the paleographic style III of Wissmann, Saba 328 f., with some tendencies towards style IV, which recommends a dating of the inscription into the 4th, may be even the 3rd, century B.C. The latter suggestion would connect the inscription to the Yada'il Bayyin bin Karib'il Watar of (270) B.C. (Wissmann, Sabäerreich 390).

³¹ Karib'il Watar bin Yita'amar (R 3951, C 37, R 4624), according to Wissmann, Sabäerreich 389 f., dating about (295) B.C.; in regard of his successors cf. ibidem 390 ff.

history because the name of the realm »Saba'« is regularly expressed in the titles in all periods (*mkrb sb', mlk sb'* etc.). Therefore, a title »King of Marib« in contrast to »King of Saba'« would imply an immense loss of political power and influence by the Sabaean kings, especially when used in the capital of the kingdom itself (as J 557 shows). Equally, the adoption of a royal title by a local ruler in the highlands (C 37) seems to reflect a situation in which the rulers of Marib have lost their control over these areas.

Looking back at the great change within the Sabaic language and script discussed above, which took place at about the same time, we may come to the conclusion that these changes altogether are caused by the same occasion. During the first half of the 4th century B.C.³², the kingdom of Saba' had to suffer a serious defeat not only by the Qatabānians but also by the Minaeans, which subsequently led to the rise of these two kingdoms to the predominate political powers in southwest Arabia. Especially the advance of the Minaeans southward may have caused larger turbulences and movements among the population of the highlands as well as of the Ġawf, whose only way to avoid was to penetrate the regions to the east by taking advantage of the actual weakness of the Sabaean rulers³³. One can imagine that such a movement of population would have brought along a shift of the established borderlines of the spoken languages and dialects. Anyhow, the acceptance of the Middle Sabaic features in Marib and the adjacent regions suggests that a large amount of population from the highlands infiltrated, or even conquered³⁴, the heart of the old Sabaean kingdom, settling there and completely altering the cultural and social structure of their new homeland. The already noted, but not specified, suggestion, that the origin of the changes from the Early to the Middle Sabaic Period has to be looked for in the highlands, now comes a bit closer to consolidation.

4. ON THE RELEVANCE OF GRAMMATICAL FEATURES FOR CHRONOLOGY

Finally, I want to demonstrate by means of an actual example that grammatical phenomena can and should be referred to for dating single inscriptions. As we have seen, the earliest characteristics

of Middle Sabaic grammar are attested in texts dating from the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. – with one exception: the already mentioned J 557, a building inscription at the 13th layer of the outer wall of the 'Awām Temple or Maḥram Bilqīs in Marib, which contains, (according to the reading by A. Jammé)³⁵, two infinitives augmented by *-n* – a typical characteristic of the Middle Sabaic period. Wissmann arranges this inscription along with the adjoining texts of similar contents according to the ruler's names mentioned in them³⁶. He dates the texts, beginning with J 552 as the oldest one, into the 4th century B.C. – reference numbers (390)–(310)³⁷. Only C 374 = J 551, as the last one of these texts, is dated much later – about (200) B.C.³⁸. This common, early dating of all these inscriptions is only based on the supposed identity of the two rulers, Yada'il Bayyin and Sumuhū'alī Yanūf, mentioned in J 552 and the first two of the five rulers of J 557.

The mentioned grammatical peculiarity, however, gives me reason for critically questioning the historical arrangement of J 557 and the wall inscriptions of the Maḥram Bilqīs at all. Already from a paleographical point of view, the traditional dating seems questionable (examples of the accessible inscriptions are given in the paleographic figure 2): the first inscription of this sequence, J 552, shows a clearly older ductus of its script than the other texts, and may be dated into the 4th century B.C. All other inscriptions, however, present – as far as we can see – a high paleographic homogeneity – including the quite late, about (200)

³² According to Wissmann, Saba 351–354. 365 ff.

³³ We are not able to reconstruct the events in more detail. The fact that the Middle Sabaic language occurs (with less intensity, of course) in the Ġawf not much later than in Marib suggests, however, that a part of the »innovative« tribes of the highlands have settled in this area, too.

³⁴ Perhaps this process can in some way be compared with the »Landnahme« of the Israelites in Canaan.

³⁵ At the small photograph of this text published by W. D. Glanzman, PSAS 29, 1999, 84, the relevant passage is not readable; no other photo or facsimile of this inscription has been published so far.

³⁶ Wissmann, Saba 353 ff.

³⁷ Cf. the table ibidem 355.

³⁸ Cf. Wissmann, Sabäerreich 392 f.

B.C., dating C 374 = J 551³⁹. Considering the long space of about 200 years from the beginning of the construction works at the temple wall (J 552) until their completion (C 374 = J 551), the problem arises how to fill the historical gap occurring at some time within these two centuries. According to the traditional interpretation and, as we have seen, contradicting the paleographic evidence, the construction works would have been interrupted for a whole century immediately before their completion – paradoxically in a time which is characterized by a revival of the power and prosperity of the Sabaeen kingdom.

On the other hand, when we place the connected inscriptions of the 13th layer of the temple wall (i.e. excluding J 552) tentatively at the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd century B.C., we will come to some surprising conclusions⁴⁰:

1. The three rulers Yada'il Bayyin, Yakrubmalik Watar, and Yita'amar Bayyin mentioned in C 375 = J 550 (and before in J 555) occur in the same order in other inscriptions as »Kings of Saba'«⁴¹.
2. The two references to »Kings of Marib« in J 557 and C 37 come historically closer to each other and may be traced back to the same historical constellation: after the defeat inflicted upon the Sabaeans by Qatabān, (and before by Ma'in), at the end of the 4th century B.C., the political importance of Saba' declines down to the level of a small local power, which finds expression in the royal title »King of Marib« (J 557). After the rulers of the Central Yemeni Highlands – by taking advantage of the temporary weakness of Saba' – were able to take over royal power in this region adopting the title »King of Sum'ay« (C 37/1.3) quite parallel to the »Kings of Marib«, the repeated advancement of Saba' at the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. quickly puts an end to this intermezzo⁴².
3. The close paleographic connection of the texts concerned to the late dating C 374 = J 551 can best be explained by a continuity of the construction works on the temple wall, which were carried out non-stop under the kings from the end of the 4th century B.C. until their completion recorded in C 374 = J 551 at the end of the 3rd century B.C.
4. Also from an architectonical point of view it seems more probable to assume a larger tempo-

ral break between the construction of the wall's door far below the 13th layer (J 552) and the raising of the whole wall upwards from this layer.

Even though not all historical problems occurring in this connection are solved by the present

³⁹ Cf. the annexed palaeographic fig. 2 and, in addition, the sketches of the characters of some inscriptions by A. Jamme, *Sabaeen Inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqis, Mārib* (1962) pl. D.

⁴⁰ There are some palaeographic peculiarities supporting such a late dating. Especially the spread, in most cases »open« M and the sometimes elliptic W are typical indications for the palaeographic style IV by Wissmann, *Sabäerreich* 388, which he dates into the 3rd–2nd century B.C.

⁴¹ Cf. the list by Wissmann, *Sabäerreich* 390 ff. – The insertion of a king Damar'alī Yanūf bin Yakrubmalik Watar between the lastnamed two rulers (ibidem 392) according to F 70 is based on an emendation of A. Fakhry's copy (*mkrb* > *mlk*, ibidem 331 n. 47; the copy obviously contains a number of errors). The inscription Robin-Şirwāḥ 2 (F. Bron in: *Raydān* 4 [1981] 30 with pl. 8 b), containing the same ruler's name as in F 70 (including filiation, but without title), might refer to the same direction due to palaeographical reasons (cf. especially the forms of R and M), the rough ductus, however, seems not to allow a certain decision. The two unaugmented infinitives in line 1 f. refer to an earlier period again, which thus is compatible with the title *mkrb*. Under these circumstances, I consider the argumentation of Wissmann not convincing enough. – The added Karib'il Watar in the invocation of C 375 = J 550 might be identical with the father of Yada'il Bayyin, who is mentioned several times as king in the inscriptions (cf. Wissmann, *Sabäerreich* 389 f.). By the way, the nature of succession on the throne in the Sabaeen kingdom in pre-Christian times is still unclear, cf. the summary by Robin op. cit. (see n. 28) 1153 f. The other rulers mentioned in J 555, and especially in J 557, are to be placed just before the ones we spoke about, that means at the end of the 4th century. Consequently, the historical events connected by synchronisms will shift accordingly, namely the war of the Sabaeans under the first three of the rulers mentioned in J 557 against Qatabān, recorded in R 3858 (cf. the palaeographic chart by Pirenne op. cit. [n. 15] tab. 5 Qatabanite). This war culminated in a disastrous defeat of the Sabaeans (cf. Wissmann, *Saba* 351 ff.), which could be considered as cause of the decline of Saba' reflected, among other things, by the local title »King of Marib« adopted by the rulers of the city in J 557. Also C 563+956, mentioning Yita'amar Watar bin Sumuh'all in line 1 without royal title, would have to shift accordingly. The two rulers Yada'il and Sumuh'all of C 955+418/3, however, are to be connected with the ones of the same names of J 552 (cf. the palaeographic figures).

⁴² In C 37/7 already, Karib'il Watar is called »King of Saba'« again, and little later in R 4624, the son of the author of C 37 is only an administrator of Sum'ay under the dominance of that »Karib'il, King of Saba'«.

approach⁴³, it, nevertheless, shows a considerable degree of consistency. Consequently – in order to come back to the starting point of our reflections –, we now can reconstruct a span of about one century for the shift from the Early to the Middle Sabaic period, in which features of both periods are found in the inscriptions. After this time, the typical features of Early Sabaic do not occur any more, apart from a few marginal dialect areas which have not been subject to permanent Sabaeen influence.

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⁴³ Especially the absence of the well known king Karib'il Watar of (295) B. C. (cf. Wissmann, *Sabäerreich* 389 f.) from the list of rulers in J 555 causes difficulties in respect to our interpretation. For a possible solution of this problem, I propose another look at the already mentioned inscription C.37, which speaks of »Kings of Marib« ('*mlk mryb*') immediately beside that »Karib'il Watar, King of Saba« ('*krb'l wtr mlk sb*'). Apart from a chronological interpretation (the mentioned King of Saba' is the first of this kind after a period of local kings in Marib), it seems quite imaginable that the two different titles reflect a situation in which Karib'il Watar, the »King of Saba«, reigns (possibly in Širwāḥ?) co-existing to the local rulers of Marib until his successor Yada'il Bayyin finally takes over control of Marib, too. This interpretation might be supported by the fact that we do not have any inscription (apart from, perhaps, C.375 = J 550, cf. above n. 41) mentioning this Karib'il Watar from Marib, but rather from Širwāḥ (R 3951) and from the highlands (C.37 and R 4626). Consequently, the list of J 555 would reflect the transition from local rulers in Marib (the last of whom seems to be the Sumuhū'alī Yanūf mentioned in line 3; cf. also J 557) to rulers bearing the title »King of Saba«, whose dynasty did not originate from Marib but rather gained power over the town from outside.

* إسهامات لغوية في الكرونولوجيا السبئية

بيتر شتاين

(Peter Stein)

ملخص:

الهدف من هذه الورقة هو توضيح أن نقطة التحول من العصر القديم إلى العصر الوسيط للغة السبئية يمكن أن تكون مرتبطة بتغيرات سياسية واجتماعية هائلة في الوقت نفسه بدخل الدولة. وبناء على البحث المستفيض في بعض الخصائص البارزة لقواعد اللغة السبئية (كإدغام النون ، وكتابة حرف الجر ع د(ي) ، وأداة الربط كه ذ(ي) ، والتغير الصوتي من ش ل ث إلى ث ل ث ، وتصريف المصدر) يمكننا أن نعلم بأنه كانت هناك لهجة سبئية قديمة موجودة في المنطقة المحيطة بملرب وصرواح والجوف حلت محلها حلولاً كاملاً لهجة أخرى كانت موجودة أساساً في المرتفعات اليمينية المركزية. وقد حدث هذا الطول خلال قرن واحد من الزمن تقريباً (القرن الثالث قبل الميلاد ، طبقاً لما يقول هرمان فون فيسمان (Hermann von Wissmann) - في ذات الوقت الذي استعادت فيه مملكة سبأ قوتها السياسية بعد فترة من الاضمحلال. ومن السمات النموذجية للمرحلة الجديدة الخصائص النحوية للغة السبئية الوسيطة مقابل المرحلة القديمة للغة ، وكذلك طريقة الكتابة الجديدة (على سبيل المثال لم تعد تستخدم البطرقة) ، واستعمال اللقب الملكي "ملك سبأ" (م ل ك / م ب ع) بدلاً من اللقب القديم "مكرب سبأ" (م ك رب / م ب ع). وفي النهاية أريد أن أوضح جلياً أن الخصائص النحوية المميزة لنصوص هذه المرحلة ربما تساعد - في حالات منفردة - على التأريخ لنقوش ذلك العصر تاريخاً أكبر دقة.

TOWARD A RECONSTRUCTION OF ANCIENT ẒAFĀR

INTRODUCTION AND STATE OF RESEARCH

Prior to beginning my paper, on two counts I must excuse myself: first for intruding on the »Rencontres sabéennes«, for I represent not the interests of the Sabaeans, but rather blatantly those of their successors, namely those of the Himyarite tribes. Second, our team has conducted but two field campaigns, both of mapping, and a single one of excavation. Although these were conducted with modest budgets compared to those of their cousins in the Near East, they did produce some interesting historical results. With regard to the topic of this meeting, it might also be observed that from the Himyarite vantage point, the chronological nomenclature developed for Mārib and for the Old South Arabian script are ill-suited for the history of Ẓafār, owing to its late relative dating.

It is difficult to contribute substantially to a clarification of the chronological termini of Old South Arabia, since at this stage of our work few new relevant texts and no ¹⁴C assays are available in context. On the other hand, important building structures in this rupestrian 110 ha [900 × 1200 m] centre have come to light, which require or even demand dating. This paradox could be reduced in size by means of investigation in the area locally known as al-Jawkh, which, in addition to the Ḥuṣn Raydān, I propose to be the main area of the Raydān palace for reasons which I shall state below.

Many or even most building remains at Ẓafār appear to date largely to the latter stages of its history, that means to a time, at the very earliest, from the 1st century A.D. when Himyarite kings adopt the title »ruler of Saba' and Dhū-Raydān«. But the few chronological references which are

available, point to a yet later dating for the building ruins extant on the site, that is from the 3rd century A.D.: Why? On the one hand, the few examples of high quality stone masonry seem to predate the 3rd century A.D. But on the other, politically, economically, and militarily, Himyar comes to fruition in the latter part of the 3rd century. And one expects major building programmes in this wealthy 250 year period – a time, politically and architecturally speaking, when its competitors had eclipsed.

In this communication I shall comment very tersely on the state of research, the chronology of the masonry, adumbrate the topography of Ẓafār, show selected contexts, as well as highlight our work in the site museum.

In the 10th century A.D. (280–360 H) in al-Ikhlīl, al-Hamdānī's naming of Ẓafār's nine Pre-Islamic city gates conditions helps vaguely but importantly our understanding of its cityscape. But the location and nature of key building complexes – the famed Raydān Palace and its kinsmen – remain elusive in his brief description.

Ẓafār has escaped the view of more recent westerners. One of the few in the area was the father of all travellers in Arabia. The German Carsten Niebuhr, in the service of the king of Denmark, was in Yarīm from the 5th to the 12th of July 1763. With little trouble we located the group of houses which he reproduced in his »Reisebeschreibung« in Yarīm qadīm (Fig. 1 and 2). But

Sources of illustrations: Fig. 1: C. Niebuhr, Beschreibung von Arabien (1772). – Figs. 2–5: Author.

Much of the original text has been shortened and is included in the preliminary reports which are in press. Therein I thank my colleagues and cite my sources.



Prospect des Castels und eines Theils der Stadt Jerim.

D. G. Schult

Fig. 1 Rendering of Yarim by Carsten Niebuhr 1763

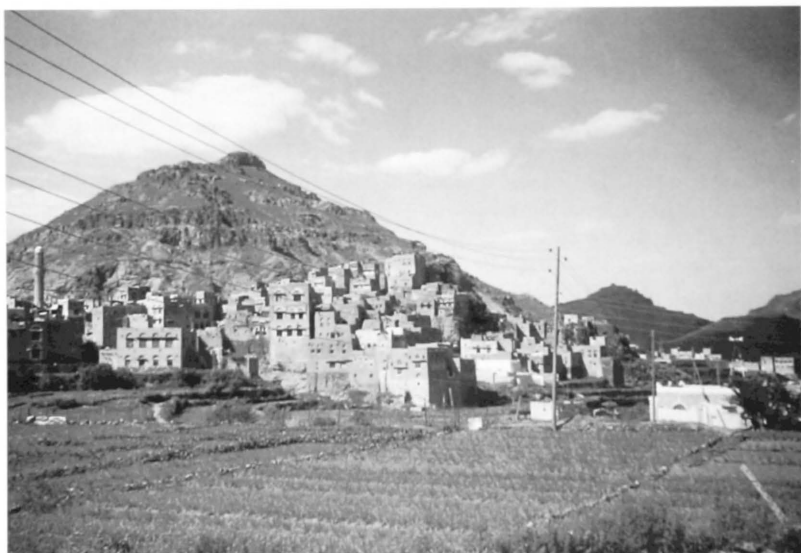


Fig. 2 View of Yarim qadim in 2000

ill and occupied with the death of his colleague Peter Forskāl there, he did not go to Zafār, which at a stiff pace is possible in 3½ hours (Niebuhr: »2 bis 2½ deutsche Meile«), as I can attest to by

means of a practical attempt. The mayor of Yarim assured Niebuhr that inscriptions from Zafār could be read neither by Jews nor by Muslims, which must have tempted him.



Fig. 3 Centre-left: the present-day town Zafār, centre: the Ḥuṣn Raydān

A few philologists, such as Ulrich Jasper Seetzen, managed subsequently to visit Zafār in the 19th and 20th centuries, but provide no information about its appearance. In the 1880s the Austrian Eduard Glaser described what he called the »east gate« at Zafār¹. This is a, »...regular chausee flanked with well-preserved walls«. Glaser's »chausee« lies actually probably in Zafār south – not »east«. Flanking walls are long since missing.

Some 100 years later, archaeologists still have made no headway in more accurately characterizing the appearance of the ancient city because by this time stone robbing had already taken its toll. In part this is confirmed by photos taken in 1969 and published in 1970 by G. Garbini². In the 1980s and early 90s, R. Tindel describes the city as a ruin without any complete structures, a view which I should like to emend here³.

On the basis of village colloquial usage, distinguishable are four areas in the ruins. What we call Zafār South includes the areas locally known as Zafār, al-Ḥayfah, and al-'Uwār. The centre mountain is the Ḥuṣn Raydān, with overlapping areas to the south known as 'arḍ Raydān, and al-Jawkh. Raydān North includes the mountain known as

al-Qaṣr. A fourth area, to the east of Zafār village, goes by the name of al-'Aṣabī. Mapping took place in 1998, 2000 and 2002. Seen from the neighbouring J. Hadamān, one has a fine view of the entire settlement complex (Fig. 3). It brings to mind N. Nebes's recently reported Himyarite inscription from the J. al-'Awd (DAI Ġabal al-'Awd 1, time of Dhamar'alī of Raydān) which deals with spying in the town Maṣwalum on the J. Hadamān⁴.

TOWARD A RECONSTRUCTION

We can surmise the positions of the nine city gates which al-Hamdānī mentioned for Zafār. A reconstruction of the city wall is in itself vexed, owing to

¹ H. v. Wissmann, *Zur Geschichte und Landeskunde von Alt-Südarabien*, in: *Sammlung Eduard Glaser III*, SB Wien 246, 1964, 251 f.

² G. Garbini, *Antichità yemenite*, AION N.S. 20, 1970, pl. 33 a–b (Zafār/al-Ḥayfah and Ḥuṣn Raydān). 34 a (Ḥuṣn Raydān). 36 a–b. 37 a–b (not locatable).

³ R. Tindel, *Zafār*, in: *Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East V* (1997) 386 f.

⁴ Lecture in Munich 31.06.2000.



Fig. 4 Present-day and antique main entrance to Ẓafār (z190), destroyed in February 2004

the fact that less than 2% of it has survived the stone robber. The main antique gate appears to be the present-day access to Ẓafār. The cobblestones seem to be of antique date. In the main field in Ẓafār South/al-'Uwār the negative growth characteristics of the grain reveal the presence of part of the southern city gate complex, which neither can be easily dated nor graphically reconstructed. There are grounds to assume that Ẓafār's major entrance complex was located in Ẓafār South (Fig. 4). Gates seem to have faced the north-east near wall z183, to the south-west toward Kitāb, the south-south-east toward Bayt al-Ashwal, and the north-north-east into the Wādī Ẓafār.

Gate remains also seem recognizable between al-Qaṣr and the Ḥuṣn Raydān in the saddle between the two volcanic mountains. Hidden in the massive rubble are walls which face north-east/south-west – common at Ẓafār. The heavy accumulation of rubble on both sides suggest a possible gate opening in two directions. But these ruins may also correspond to the positions of the castle Shawḥaṭān on the northern wall of Ḥuṣn Raydān, of the 4th century important monotheist king Malikkarib Yuha'min II (c. 375–410 A.D.)⁵ and

Hargab of Shurahbi'il Ya'fur (440–458 A.D.) which would put the topography on a certain basis if we were to excavate them.

Two fragmentary stone structures seem to be *burgi* or fortification towers. Since the surrounding fortifications are difficult to understand in terms of their form, their function also remains problematic. The identification of one of them (Fig. 5) as a dam can be queried⁶. This explanation seems unlikely (assuming it was not altered in the late antique or medieval period) since no great amount of water enters the catchment area to the east, and the presumed 'dam' is too overbuilt for the duty it would have to fulfil. It also leaves open the question of the chronology and function of the subsurface remains. Perhaps this barrier in fact is a catchment wall combined with a fortification.

INVESTIGATION OF A CEMETERY

The robbing of tombs and graves, which continues occasionally at Ẓafār, impelled us to investigate the cemeteries of inhabitants presumably of average status/income at the foot of al-'Aṣabī in the Wādī Ẓafār. Tombs are visible by means of the entrance shafts which robbers reopened and from the tunnels they left behind. The tombs also suffered from the effects of the erosion in the steep slope over the centuries. It was hoped that some might still be intact, as opposed to the rock-cut tombs of notables, which inevitably centuries ago fell prey to iconoclastic vandals and grave robbers.

Graves and burial chambers open to the north or had a vertical access. Complete skeletons are rare, and common are fragmentary partial skeletons in disturbed contexts. Questions of a historical nature impelled investigation: Especially in the 6th century A.D. Himyar was caught up in political/religious turmoil. The converging beliefs must have influenced the burial customs. As yet there is no reason to believe that our sample of this cemetery covers the entire chronological spectrum of Ẓafār, but to judge from the finds, rather lies in the polytheistic era.

⁵ Wissmann op. cit. 70 claims incorrectly that this palace is located by means of this inscription.

⁶ W. Radt, AA 1971, 271 fig. 31.

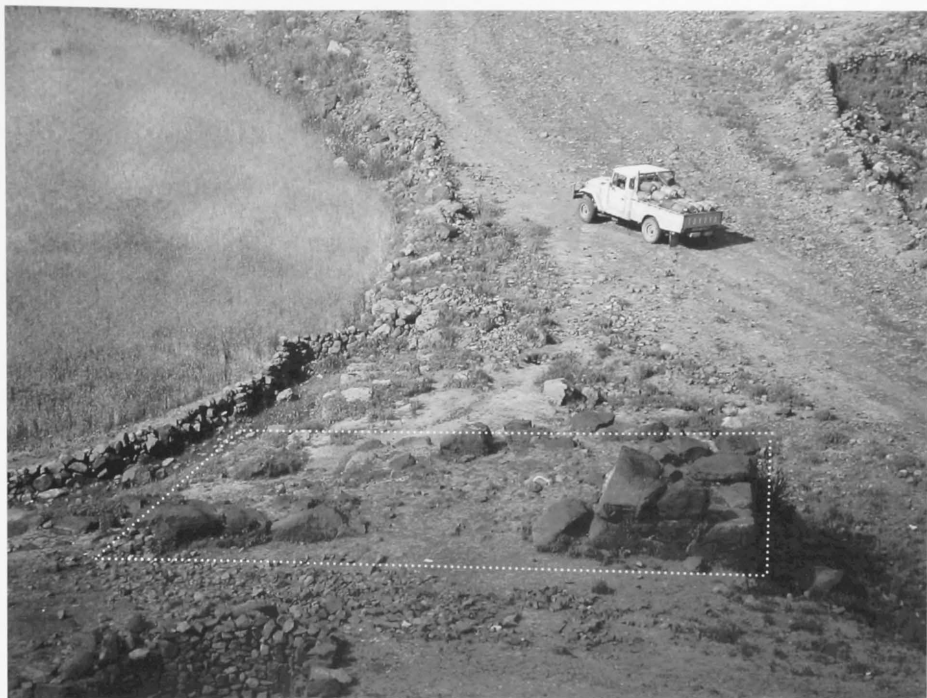


Fig. 5 Fortification z179 in Zafār South/al-'Uwār

AREA OF THE RAYDĀN PALACE

We move now to al-Jawkh, at the foot of the Ḥuṣn Raydān. Large chambers carved out of the obdurate bedrock cluster at the south-western foot of the Ḥuṣn Raydān. These include a 15 m long tomb of the polytheistic age⁷ and an antique subterranean cistern some 4.5 m in height. In addition, a subterranean chamber is cut beneath the present-day mosque there. During the rainy season the chamber below contains clean water some 1.6 m in depth. Water chambers such as this (assuming it was built to contain water) are, as far as I know, unknown in mosques. A Christian baptistry or a Jewish *mikveh* come to mind, but this need not be either. But it is similar in its form to rare known baptistries or *mikvehs*⁸. Moreover, baptism derives from a large sphere of antique washings and rites of passage in the orient with roots reaching further into the past⁹. The structure's walls are smooth, the

floor level. This kind of carving seems to me to predate the 2nd century A.D. The question arises whether it can be linked to polytheistic, Jewish, or Christian cult activities.

Since this feature lies in the area of the most extensive Himyarite building activity, including the cistern, the large tomb, heavy walls, and numerous foundation trenches, it seems an ideal candidate for an identification with part of the Raydān palace.

⁷ P. Yule, Mapping Himyarite Zafār, in: *Leaving no Stones Unturned: Essays on the Ancient Near East and Egypt in Honor of Donald P. Hansen* (2002) 321; P. Yule (ed.), *Zafār, Capital of Himyar, Ibb Province, Yemen First Preliminary Report: 1998 and 2000* (in press).

⁸ E. N. Meyers – A. T. Kraabel – J. F. Strange, *Ancient Synagogue Excavations at Khirbet Shema', Upper Galilee Israel 1970–72* (1976) 113–117 esp. 114 fig. 4. 8.

⁹ RE IV A 2 (1932) 2501 f. s.v. Taufe (E. Fascher).

THE SITE MUSEUM

A final category of finds are sculpture. On arrival in 1998 we were alarmed to note that the floor of the museum magazine was covered in places with stone reliefs and inscriptions to a depth of over 1 m. These form the lion's share of a valuable museum collection. The existing shelves in the magazine were found to be poorly assembled, and collapsed having been loaded shortly following their erection some years ago.

With the daily support of our Yemeni colleagues, the team registered the different kinds of stone reliefs. Such comprise inscriptions, ural, phyllomorphic, ornamental, and so-called archi-

tectural groups. Given the large number of artefacts, it was necessary to sort them on the floor of the entire museum, prior to their reshelving.

1000 of the most important artefacts were photographed, registered, and are in the process of being catalogued. The photos of the finds have been recorded on CD and copies presented to our Yemeni colleagues. The sculpture included inscriptions and ural motives of local and exotic origin.

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نحو إعادة تصميم ظفار القديمة

بول يُول

(Paul Yule)

ملخص:

سجلت البعثة الأثرية إلى ظفار السياقات وقارنتها بالأوصاف التي قام بها الزوار القدامى من أمثال نيبور (Niebuhr) وجلزر (Glaser). وبالرغم من المزامع بأن ظفار قد محيت محوًا كاملاً؛ فقد عثرنا خلال جولة من حملاتنا الاستكشافية الأولى على بقايا هائلة من بنايات يرجع تاريخها حتى القرن الثاني الميلادي. ويبدو أن الغالبية تعود - على أية حال - إلى وقت متأخر. ورغم عمليات نهب الأحجار المتواصلة، فمن الممكن إعادة تصميم الحصن على الورق.

لقد قمنا باستكشاف عشرين مقبرة لمواطنين عاديين في المدافن الرئيسية بظفار/العصب التي يبدو أن تاريخها يعود إلى حوالي القرن الثاني الميلادي.

وفي أسفل حصن ريدان شاهدنا غرفا كبيرة كانت قد قطعت من الصخر الصلد. وتشير هذه الغرف وكذلك جدران الأساس إلى وجود مباني ضخمة قد تكون ملكية.

وفي النهاية بدأنا - بالاستعانة بالمصادر التي كانت في متناول أيدينا وبالإشتراك مع زملائنا اليمنيين - بتتظيم وتسجيل النقوش الموجودة في دار الآثار بالموقع، وكذلك بإصلاح الأرفف وإعادتها إلى أماكنها.

